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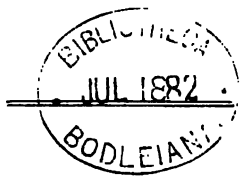




TITI LIVII  
HISTORIARUM ROMANARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

EDITED,  
*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,*  
BY  
LOUIS C. PURSER, M.A.,  
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.



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## P R E F A C E .

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THE text followed in this edition is that of Madvig and Ussing, published at Copenhagen 1873. In preparing the Notes I have extensively followed Professor Seeley's edition, which leaves little to be desired; but have also had before me the school editions of Frey (Leipsic, Teubner, 1875), and Weissenborn (Berlin, Weidmann ed. 7, 1879). This latter authority I have frequently cited under the abbreviation 'Weiss.' Also the second edition of Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae*. In the Introduction, the third section is mainly taken from Professor Seeley's *Historical Examination* prefixed to his edition (who himself abridges Schwegler), and the fourth section from Mommsen's *Roman History*. The young student who cares for early history will do well to read Ihne's "Early Rome," one of the series of "Epochs of Ancient History," published by Longmans. Wherever mythology is touched on I have followed Preller's work on *Roman Mythology* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1858).

In references, where two numbers are given, they nearly always refer to the chapter and section of the first book; when three numbers are given, they refer to the book, chapter, and section.





# INTRODUCTION.

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## I. LIFE OF LIVY.

NEXT to nothing is known about the life of Livy. He was born at Patavium (Padua) in 59 B.C., came to Rome in 29 B.C., commenced his history probably about 26 B.C. and continued writing it till it was interrupted by his death in 19 A.D. Besides his history he wrote a few philosophical dialogues and some letters to his son on rhetoric. He seems to have been acquainted with the Emperor Augustus (4, 20, 7).

## II. ON THE CHARACTER OF LIVY'S WORK.

The several books of Livy's work are headed in the MSS. "Ab urbe condita Liber i., ii., iii., &c." The whole history narrated events from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the death of Drusus, the step-son of Augustus (B.C. 9), in 142 books. Of these we have 35 surviving, with some fragments of the others. The actual books we have are 1 to 10 (ending with the year 293 B.C.); and 21 to 45 (from 218 B.C. to 167 B.C.) This shows the greater detail in which Livy treated his subject as it came nearer his own time. There are Epitomes, or, as they are called, Periochæ (περιοχαί), of all the books (except 136 and 137), supposed to have been written by Florus, as they are found in the MSS. with that writer's works.

It is highly improbable that such an extensive work as Livy's was published all at once. The usual opinion is that he published it in portions of ten books (decads), for it is said each such portion has a certain unity as dealing with a period or event more or less connected and complete; and books 21 to 30, containing the history of the second Punic War, and 71 to 80, that of the Social War, are appealed to in confirmation of this theory. As against this we may point to the Civil War being narrated in books 109 to 116. The question is not an easy one, but the decad-theory is not satisfactorily proved. Any one who wishes to examine the point will find the arguments for the decad-theory in Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History, p. 47 (Eng. Trans.) and against it in Weissenborn's Introduction to his

German edition of Livy, pp. 54-60. The latter argues very ingeniously for a division into half decades.

The object of Livy is pretty well told in his Preface. It was partly patriotic, that he should do something to perpetuate the glories of his country ; partly moral, that he should show how it was that the greatness of Rome depended on her high tone of morality, and how, when that gave way, she fell in total ruin ; besides, Livy would have all the characters in his history regarded as giving in their lives moral lessons, that the good should be followed and the bad avoided. When such is the intention of an amiable, eloquent, and at the same time romantic and ideal mind in devoting itself to history, it is highly probable that more care will be bestowed on producing dramatic effects and striking pictures than on carefully studying authorities and elaborately investigating the connexion of events. And such is the case with Livy. His method of writing seems to have been to fix on some authority for each period, to follow him in the main for the facts, where it seemed very necessary to consult other authorities, but chiefly to endeavour to improve the style and make the narrative more picturesque. When he occasionally does compare authorities, his method of criticism is not very definite. He sometimes prefers the oldest authority, sometimes the account most favourable to the Romans, sometimes the most striking, sometimes the most probable ; but as to comparing the writers, and attempting to estimate the value of each individually—this he never attempts. Who he mainly followed in the earlier part of his work it is not very easy to say, as we have no means of comparing him with the authorities he mentions, *e.g.* Fabius Pictor (served in Gallic War 225 B.C.), Cincius Alimentus (praetor 210 B.C.), Calpurnius Piso (fl. circ. 130 B.C.), Valerius Antias (80 B.C.), Licinius Macer (70 B.C.) But for the second Punic War he had principally Caelius Antipater before him, with pretty frequent references to Polybius ; and from the 31st book on he mainly follows Polybius in the account of the events in the East, and in the history of the West, Valerius Antias, a writer who has contributed, says Weissenborn, more than any other to falsify Roman history. But if great care is not observed to blend the different narratives into one whole, this sort of writing is sure to lead to much inconsistency ; and so we have from Livy the same

narratives repeated in different language, different explanations of names and institutions, promises unfulfilled, dates confused—and all this because he saw the parts just as they were passing before him very clearly, but without the slightest feeling of the whole, or indeed wish to take the trouble of bringing his various statements into harmony.

For, as Niebuhr says, "in Livy all is isolated," "what he is utterly destitute of is comprehensiveness of view." War is the staple of his whole narrative, and yet even his accounts of battles and campaigns are most confused and impossible. He gives no descriptions of places, or imperfect ones; he has only the most rudimentary notion of military tactics; and a long continued definite line of strategy he fails completely to grasp. In his accounts of political struggles we have fine speeches and a great many strikingly dramatic scenes, but no continuous account of the gradual progress of the democracy. Livy has no clear idea of the nature of early society; such important points as the rise of the clients and plebs he gives no account of, nor again do we hear definitely how, for example, the *comitia tributa* came into existence. And of the nature and development of such important elements in the state, as art, law, commerce, agriculture, we hear next to nothing.

Yet with all this Livy satisfied the taste of his age so fully, that he became the ultimate authority on Roman History. His renown during his lifetime was great. The well-known story of the citizen of Gades, who came all the way to Rome merely to see Livy, is not perhaps much proof; but the judgment of the best critics of his own age, and the following on his eloquence and fairness, is one of unanimous praise.\* "*Neque sibi indignetur*," says Quintilian (10, 1, 101), "*Herodotus aequari T. Livium, in narrando mirae incunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem: ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt: affectus quidem praecipueque eos qui sunt dulciores ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis.*" He also speaks of (ib. 32) "*Livii lactea ubertas.*" Seneca

\* Perhaps we must except the carping Asinius Pollio, who accused Livy's style of Patavinitas. No one knows what that criticism refers to now, but it is supposed to point to some provincialisms in his words and phrases that we can only guess at.

(Suas. 6-21) calls him "candidissimus magnorum ingeniorum aestimator." Tacitus (An. 4-34) "eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus imprimis." And no one will be found to deny that all this is true. There pervades Livy's whole work a high moral and religious tone, which never, as Weissenborn justly observes, degenerates into silly moralizing or preaching. The refined taste of Livy makes him hate anything excessive; all blustering and violence he detests; hence his antipathy to the people, and want of sympathy with their struggles for equality. Livy is no doubt partial in his estimate of the Romans as compared with other nations, but this was expected in the ancient world; even Polybius says *δεῖ ῥονὰς διδόναι ταῖς αἰρῶν παρτίσι τοὺς συγγραφέας*. But still Livy has a decided inclination to tell the truth, and certainly he never knowingly puts forth a false statement.

It was just this sort of rhetorical and dramatic treatment of a great and massive subject that was sure to win popularity at Rome. The Roman nation then, as the Romance nations now, admired a style of thinking and writing that to us seems high-flown. But the subject too of Livy's history was eminently suited to his time, when "the imagination of the Romans," as Mr. Merivale tells us, "was inflamed by the conservative reaction that sought to bridge the chaos of the last century and revive the sense of national continuity." Thorough investigation of materials was of extreme difficulty, owing to the cumbrousness of the manuscripts, and was not one of the literary canons of the age. And so Livy satisfied all that was wanted; and put forth a history that is of little scientific but considerable artistic value, and by these artistic excellences mainly won such popularity, that he fixed the events and characters of Roman history in the form they remained in down almost to the present century.

### III. EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMAN HISTORY.

We have seen that the earliest historians whose works Livy could consult were Cincius Alimentus (Praetor 210 B.C.) and Fabius Pictor (served in Gallic War 225 B.C.), who both wrote in Greek. They lived at least 500 years after the beginning and 300 after the end of the Regal Period. Thus we have no contemporary witness for the story of the kings.

But what authorities had these historians? 1. Some very ancient treatises. 2. Documents drawn up by the Magistrates (*e.g.*, 1. *Annales Maximi*, by Pontifex Maximus, which recorded the most remarkable events of each year, of which, however, prodigies, eclipses, and such like, formed a large part. 2. Official records of Praetors. 3. Rules of Civil Procedure, afterwards divulged by Flavius. 4. *Libri Augurales*. 3. Laws engraved on brass. 4. Lists of Magistrates. All these, however, will give us no help in the Regal Period, because such as existed treating of that period were destroyed during the Gallic invasion (390 B.C.). Besides these they had the Funeral Orations actually delivered over many distinguished men, and memoranda kept for such orations by great families, and inscriptions under the masks (*imagines*) of distinguished members of such families; but we cannot suppose that these family traditions go back so far as the Kings, for there is hardly one of the names of families which occur in the Republican Annals that is found in the stories of the Regal Period. Lastly, we hear of songs about illustrious men sung at banquets; and these Niebuhr has supposed to be the origin of the poetical part of the early history, and Macaulay has attempted to give some specimens in his *Lays*; but obviously such were so intermixed with fable, that even supposing we knew what they were like (which we don't), we could never extract the truth from the fiction.

So we have no kind of trustworthy positive evidence for the Regal Period. What then do the stories rest on? 1. Oral Tradition. 2. Invention. Livy does not generally contradict himself; but when we compare him with other authors, we see the utter uncertainty which prevailed amongst the Romans themselves as regards these stories, *e.g.* Livy's account of Romulus and Remus exists side by side with at least twenty other accounts of the foundation of Rome. There is a similar divergence of tradition as regards the institutions of Numa. The history cannot then be taken as mainly true. No doubt a good deal of the latter part has a basis of fact, *e.g.* the house of Tarquin did really rule at Rome. But the earlier part, and most of the later, is not corrupted history, but pure myth and fiction. If any evidence of this is wanted we may point to the various miracles, to the moral impossibilities (*e.g.*, the uninterrupted peace of Numa's reign, the artificial establishment of the political and religious

laws by Romulus and Numa, the introduction of religious institutions subsequent to political, and so on), chronological impossibilities (*e.g.*, the immense lengths of the kings' reigns taken as a whole), and many more such.

But if it is myth and fiction, whence the origin of this? Principally from two sources, (1) *Euhemerism*, or historical explanation of mythological stories. (2) *Aitiological speculation*, stories assigning reasons (*airiai*) for names and customs.

(1) The explanation of the term Euhemerism is from a Greek, Euhemerus, who in a treatise entitled, *ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῇ*, applied this method to most of the Greek mythology. (His book was translated into Latin by his follower Ennius.) Deities are thus transformed into human beings. A good example of Euhemerism may be seen in Verg. *Æn.* 7, 177, sqq. I have given examples in the notes in the cases of Evander, Faustulus, Acca Larentia, Quirinus, Tarpeia.

(2) Examples of aitiological speculation are numerous and are often referred to—the Rape of the Sabines, Story of the Lacus Curtius, of Hercules and Cacus, Murder of Horatia, &c., &c.

#### IV. NATURE OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY.

It may seem after all this that nothing certain can be ascertained about the events in early Roman History. However, perhaps we may get at some small basis of fact under all this mass of fiction. This basis of fact is mainly obtained by determining what we know from comparison of other nations to be the general course of a people's development by the special conditions (*e.g.*, race, language, geographical position) and traditions of the Latins; but of course it can only be the most general outline we can arrive at, and even that cannot be ascertained with more than a strong probability.

The earliest form of union everywhere was the household. It was ruled absolutely over by the father, and this "patria potestas" remained legally in all its force throughout nearly the whole of Roman history. When the father died, if his sons did not break off into separate households, there arose what may be called a Joint Family, and in a few generations, if no extensive separation occurred, there would be formed a Clan or Sept, *i.e.*, a collection of the descendants of the same progenitor. From a union of clans arises the State. Thus it is that, as Mommsen says, the history of every

nation is a *συνουκισμὸς*, or "union of households" on a great scale; and he adds that it was true of Italian history especially.

The Latins were a branch of the Indo-Germanic family of nations, and at a pre-historic time migrated into Italy from the North. They made settlements in Campania and South Italy, but we shall confine ourselves to the Latins of Latium. In very early times this territory was divided into a number of clan-districts, i.e., districts belonging to communities actually descended from one progenitor, or supposing themselves to be so, and holding the land in common. They were specimens of village-communities, of which we hear so much now-a-days. They formed the basis of the "*tribus rusticae*," the very names of which, Claudia, Cornelia, Fabia, &c., show that they belonged to families originally. These village communities could not long exist entirely isolated; those near one another were wont to form unions, to have some system of general law between themselves, and often to unite for military purposes. Such an union forms the canton. The canton had its capital, which was a town in contradistinction to the villages, as a common meeting-place for judicial and religious purposes, and as a place of refuge in time of war. Many such cantons existed in Latium in early times, and we hear of a League of thirty of them under the presidency of Alba. There was held the religious meeting of the Latin League (reminiscences of which were kept up in historical times by the "*Latinae feriae*" held on the Alban Mount), and hard by, in the grove of Ferentina, was held the political and judicial meeting of the League (Liv. I, 50). By this League the cantons had rights of intermarriage, a system of law to which all were bound, and a tribunal of arbitration, but they were independent as regards making war and peace, though at times no doubt most of them joined for war defensive and offensive. The presidency of Alba, however, was only a nominal one, like that of Elis in Greece, because therein lay the meeting-place of the League; and so it was not at all like the regular political rule that Rome afterwards exercised.

Meanwhile, about the hills where Rome still stands we find, as far back as we can discern, an amalgamation of three cantons into one commonwealth—the Ramnes (who were of Latin stock), the Tities (probably of Sabellian), and the Luceres (of which nothing is known). The first gave the distinctive character to the little state thus formed;



for the Tities only made their influence felt in some religious institutions. Their capital was on the Palatine and a few little adjacent eminences. The position had no peculiar advantages in itself; but we must recollect that the Roman territory in early times stretched down to the sea along a navigable river, and accordingly was fitted to be an excellent emporium of commerce for the interior of Latium, far better than a city on the sea, which would have been exposed to pirates. And a considerable commerce did spring up, and this helped to make Rome a regular city; and it was just this city-type of character that was its mark of distinction from the other villages of Latium. But on the Quirinal Hill too there was another community. It and the community on the Palatine were united finally; but that they were separate originally may be seen from a number of duplicate political and religious institutions that were retained in later times, *e.g.*, the *patres minorum gentium*, as well as those *majorum gentium* (35-6), the *priores* and *posteriores* *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres* (36-7), the Double Worship of Mars on the Palatine and Quirinal, there being *Salii* and *Luperci* of the Quirinal as well as of the Palatine (25, 11); but in all these the representatives of the Quirinal community held a subordinate position in the united state. Well, these two communities were for a long time in rivalry and feud with each other before they were amalgamated into one; indeed, there is always a long period of unstable equilibrium among smaller political units before they are fully united into a larger whole; but finally we see a sign of their union, when, as the tradition tells us, *Servius Tullius* drew a wall round the city, enclosing the Palatine, Quirinal, Aventine, and Capitoline; and this was the true foundation of historical Rome.

Legally in early Rome there were only citizens and slaves. The King was the supreme manager of the community, elected for life, like the manager the Joint Family used to elect to stand in the same relation to it as the father did to the family. The King was like the father absolute, but really both were morally bound to act for the good of those governed, and restricted by traditions, *e.g.*, the King was expected to consult his council of elders (*Senate*) in all important matters. But as Rome increased there grew up another class between the citizens and slaves—the inhabitants of conquered towns and their descendants, foreigners who settled for commerce,

manumitted slaves, &c.,—who were dependents, “listeners” (clientes, connected with *κλύειν*) of great houses. These had no political rights, and so legally were in the position of slaves, but actually formed a different class. As their dependence on the great families gradually lost its force, their want of political rights became their predominant characteristic, and the clients became the plebs, the “listeners” became “the multitude.” But if they had no rights neither had they the burdens the citizens had to bear, *e.g.*, serving in war, but shared the security of the city which was won by the military labour of the citizens. This course, if continued, would have led to the extermination of the citizens; but the wise mind of some great organizer, the traditions say Servius Tullius, made an arrangement of the citizens, whereby the service in the army was changed from a personal burden to one on property. This arrangement must have entailed military service on many of the clients who had no doubt become rich by commercial dealings. It was the “*comitia centuriata*,” which we must not suppose an answer to a democratic demand, for the people got thereby duties but no rights except such as might come indirectly.

But while this internal progress was being effected, the Roman arms had been gradually assuming pre-eminence in Latium. After severe struggles Rome conquered many of the Latin communities around her. Towards these conquered communities she pursued a course of rigorous and consistent centralization (see note to 11, 4); but of these conquests that of Alba was the most important. Its importance lies in this, that Rome thereby stepped into the rights of Alba as president of the Latin League, and then formed a Romano Latin League, nominally on equal terms between the Roman community and the Latin confederacy; but as the Romans were necessary to the Latins for protection both by sea and land against the surrounding nations, Greeks, Carthaginians, Etruscans, Sabines, and as she was one city over against an ill-united confederacy, she soon acquired the real practical superiority that usually arises in such cases, quite different from the previous nominal presidency of Alba.

We have seen that the King was manager of the people, elected for life, and theoretically absolute, but morally and traditionally bound to govern for the peoples’ good. But in such cases the King

gradually becomes a tyrant. Such was the case with the last King at Rome. We may consider it certain that the Tarquins reigned at Rome, and that the last of them violated all the traditions of the exercise of the King's authority, did not consult the senate, sentenced to death on his own mere authority without the consent of his councillors, exacted excessive labour from the citizens, and in other such ways acted tyrannically, till finally the people rose against him, expelled him and his family, and in the most solemn manner abolished for ever the *life-rule* of the president of the community.

#### V. ON THE TEXT.

Just a word on the Text of the First Book of Livy. The two chief MSS. of it are the Medicean (M.), at Florence, of the eleventh century, and the Paris (P.), of the tenth century. Both are derived from a recension made in the fourth century, partly by one Victorianus, and partly by Nicomachus Flavianus and Nicomachus Dexter. All the other MSS., about eight in number, are also derived from this recension, but are not nearly so accurate as the two mentioned above.

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# TITI LIVII HISTORIARUM ROMANARUM.

## PRAEFATIO.

FACTURUSNE operae pretium sim, si a primordio Urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui quum veterem, tum vulgatam esse rem 2 videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcunque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum 3 memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine earum me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, 4 ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua. Et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaeque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt; ego contra hoc quoque laboris prae- 5 mium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis 6 decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est; datur 7 haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet con-

- secrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes
- 8 humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.
- 9 Sed haec et his similia utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno, equidem ponam discrimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militi- aequae et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec
- 10 remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae, quod imitere, capias, inde, foedum
- 11 inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo, quanto rerum minus tanto minus cupiditatis erat; nuper
- 12 divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere. Sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, quum forsitan necessa-
- 13 riae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint cum bonis potius omnibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.
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## LIBER I.

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IAM primum omnium satis constat, Troia capta in ceteros sae- 1  
vitum esse Troianos. duobus, Æneae Antenorque, et vetusti  
iure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auc-  
tores fuerant, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus 2  
deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui sedi-  
tione ex Paphlagonia pulsus et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene  
ad Troiam amisso, quaerebant, venisse in intum Hadriatici  
maris sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incole- 3  
bant, pulsus Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Ei in quem  
primum egressi sunt locum, Troia vocatur, pagoque Troiano  
inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Æneam 4  
ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia  
ducentibus fatiis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Sici-  
liam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Lauren-  
tem agrum tenuisse. Troiae et huic loco nomen est. Ibi 5  
egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil  
praeter arma et naves superesset, quum praedam ex agris agerent,  
Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad  
arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris con-  
currunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii praelio victum Latinum 6  
pacem cum Ænea, deinde affinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, 7  
quum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent,  
processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evo-  
casse ad colloquium; percontatum deinde, qui mortales essent,

- unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum
- 8 Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit, multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Æneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci
- 9 paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum interduces, interexercitus salutationem factam. Æneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus, filia Ænae in matrimo-
- 10 nium data. Ea utique res Troianis spem affirmat tandem stabili certaue sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Æneas
- 11 ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevis stirps quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.
- 2 Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique petiti. Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Æneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens simul Æneae Latinoque bellum
- 2 intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit; victi Rutuli;
- 3 victores Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffusi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum nimio plus, quam satis tutum esset accolis, rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit.
- 4 Æneas adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem iure solum, sed etiam nomine omnes
- 5 essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit; nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Æneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Æneas, quanquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, fama nominis sui impleset, tamen, quum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Æneae etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est, quemcunque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium; Iovem indigetem appellant.

Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Æneae filius erat; **3**  
 tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit;  
 tantisper tutela muliebri (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat) res  
 Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud  
 ambigam (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?)  
 hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre  
 Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum  
 eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Asca- **3**  
 nius, ubicunque et quacunque matre genitus (certe natum  
 Ænea constat), abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem iam,  
 ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae  
 reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae  
 ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter **4**  
 Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam triginta ferme  
 interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant maxime fusis  
 Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Æneae nec deinde inter mu-  
 liebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni movere  
 arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint.  
 Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem **5**  
 nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in **6**  
 silvis natus. Is Æneam Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum **7**  
 Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini ap-  
 pellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae  
 regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Ca- **8**  
 pye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae annis  
 summersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa **9**  
 inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius, a patre  
 accepto imperio, regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum  
 per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars  
 Romanae est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat.  
 Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis **10**  
 maximus erat, regnum [vetustum Silviae gentis] legat. Plus  
 tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia actatis;  
 pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus; stirpem **11**



fratris virilem interimit; fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, quum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

- 4 Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fati tantae origo urbis maxi-  
 2 mique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi com-  
 pressa Vestalis quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata,  
 seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae  
 3 stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam  
 aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vineta in  
 custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.  
 4 Forte quadam an divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus  
 stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis et,  
 posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes, spem ferentibus  
 5 dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie,  
 ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est (Romularem vocatam ferunt),  
 6 pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant.  
 Tenet fama, quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri,  
 tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus,  
 qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam sum-  
 missas infantibus adeo mitem praeuisse mammas, ut lingua  
 lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit (Faustulo  
 7 fuisse nomen ferunt); ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori edu-  
 candos datos. Sunt, qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam  
 inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo  
 8 datum. Ita geniti itaque educati, quum primum adolevit aetas,  
 nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrarare [circa]  
 9 saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, iam non  
 feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus  
 facere pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente in  
 dies grege iuvenum, seria ac iocos celebrare.
- 5 Iam tum in Palatio [monte] Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum  
 ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium  
 2 montem appellatum: ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum  
 multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Ar-  
 cadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per

lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocave-  
 runt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, quum sollemne notum esset, 3  
 insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, quum Romulus vi  
 se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tredidisse  
 ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant, in Numitoris agros 4  
 ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos, collecta iuvenum manu, ho-  
 stilem in modum praedas agere. Sic ad supplicium Numitori  
 Remus deditur. Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, re- 5  
 giam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositi iussu regis  
 infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id  
 ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasio-  
 nem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior 6  
 venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Nu-  
 mitori, quum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos  
 esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime  
 servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum, scisci-  
 tandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum  
 agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non 7  
 cum globo iuvenum (nec enim erat ad apertam vim par), sed  
 aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pasto-  
 ribus, ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia  
 comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant. Nu- 8  
 mitor inter primum tumultum, hostes invasisse urbem atque  
 adortos regiam dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in arcem prae-  
 sidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes per-  
 petrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo ad-  
 vocato concilio scelus in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut  
 geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti, essent, caedem deinceps tyranni  
 seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem 2  
 agmine ingressi quum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni  
 multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi  
 efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque 3  
 cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant,  
 urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latino-

- rumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea
- 4 urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus,
- 7 Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; iamque nuntiato augurio quum duplex numerus Romulo sese ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat: tempore illi praecepto, at
- 2 hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatiores fama est, ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, quum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset; "Sic deinde, quicumque alius
- 3 transiliet moenia mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro

4 instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum

5 fessum via procubuisse. Ibi quum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum quum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam

6 traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus quum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre,

confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum ocepit. Inde quum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, 7 ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem quum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, mortem occubuit. Euander tum 8 ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Euander concursu 9 pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque 10 ac patriam accepit, "Iove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit; "te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata 11 ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta 12 de grege sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus 13 praesto essent iisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii, extis adesis, ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii 14 ab Euandro edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec, tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus 15 una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad concilium 8 multitudo, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita sancta generi 2

- hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime
- 3 hictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud poenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, *et* numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.
- 4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appendendo loca, quum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad
- 5 id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, alliciendae multitudinis causa, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asy-
- 6 lum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit;
- 7 idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Quum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.
- 9 Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes
- 2 prolis nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent,
- 4 magnas sibi opes magnumque nomen facere; satis scire, origini Romanae et deos affuisse et non defuturam virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac
- 5 genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est; adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem

sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar connubium fore. Ægre id Romana pubes passa, 6 et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnes; Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet; quantoque 7 apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, concelebrat, ut rem claram exspectatamque faceret. Multi mortales convenere, studio 8 etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninienses, Crustumini, Antemnates; etiam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per 9 domos quum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem viderent, mirantur, tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi 10 spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem 11 quaqueque inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes, primoribus patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam longe ante alias insig- 12 nem specie ac pulchritudine a globo Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.

Turbato per metum ludicro, maesti parentes virginum 13 profugiant, incusantes violati hospitii foedus deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio 14 est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque, patrum id superbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negassent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore; mollirent modo iras et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent 15 animos; saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam; eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod annisurus pro se quisque sit,

- ut, quum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querelis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat conveniebant
- 2 Caeninenses Crustumini et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere iis Tati-  
3 que visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum  
4 nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvi-  
5 us cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet, vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio obtruncat et spoli-  
6 at; duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, quum factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis  
7 fines cognomenque addidit deo. "Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae, regibus ducibusque hostium caesis, me auctorem sequentes poster-  
8 i ferent." Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine compotum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per 11  
 occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incur-  
 sionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos  
 in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes; 2  
 oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Her-  
 silia coniux precibus raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus  
 earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere  
 concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustumini- 3  
 nos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod ali-  
 enis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque colo- 4  
 niae missae; plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in  
 Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter mi-  
 gratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maxi- 5  
 mum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est,  
 nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam 6  
 additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius  
 filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem  
 accipiat; aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitem  
 ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius 7  
 arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam  
 fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod vulgo Sabini au- 8  
 reas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque magna  
 specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris mani-  
 bus haberent; eo scuta illa pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, 9  
 qui eam ex pacto tradendi, quod in sinistris manibus esset,  
 directo arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam  
 peremptam mercede.

Tenere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, 12  
 quum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatinum Capi-  
 tolinumque collem campi est, complisset, non prius descende-  
 runt in aequum, quam, ira et cupiditate recuperandae arcis  
 stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subiere. Principes 2  
 utrinque pugnam ciebant ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Ro-  
 manis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad



3 prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius ce-  
 cidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies fusaque est. Ad ve-  
 terem portam Palatii Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus,  
 4 arma ad caelum tollens, "Iuppiter, tuis" inquit "iussus avibus  
 hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere  
 emptam Sabini habent; inde huc armati, superata media valle,  
 5 tendunt; at tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce  
 6 hostes; deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic  
 ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumento sit posteris  
 7 tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo." Haec preca-  
 tus, velut si sensisset auditas preces. "Hinc," inquit, "Romani,  
 Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iu-  
 bet." Restitere Romani tanquam caelesti voce iussi. ipse ad  
 8 primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis prin-  
 ceptis ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat Romanos toto  
 quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul iam a porta Palatii  
 erat, clamitans: "Vicinus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes;  
 iam sciunt, longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare  
 9 cum viris." In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimo-  
 rum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte  
 Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani per-  
 sequuntur; et alia Romana acies, audacia regis accensa, fundit  
 10 Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium tre-  
 pidante equo, coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos  
 tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, annuentibus ac vocantibus  
 suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit; Romani Sabini-  
 que in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium;  
 13 sed res Romana erat superior. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum  
 ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo  
 malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex trans-  
 2 verso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc  
 patres, hinc viros orantes, ne sanguine se nefando soceri generique  
 respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum  
 3 illi, hi liberum progeniem. "Si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii  
 piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac

caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus." Movet res 4 quum multitudinem, tum duces; silentium et repentina fit quies; inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt. Nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt. Regnum consociant; imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sa- 5 binis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas 6 viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque quum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, quum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eo- 8 dem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt. Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatius Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Lau- 14 rentium pulsant; quumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur 2 illorum poenam in se vertit; nam Lavinii, quum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam 3 rem minus aegre, quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat; aliud multo pro- 4 pius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa, vastatur agri quod

- 5 inter urbem ac Fidenas est; inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra  
Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur,  
tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuntio fuit.
- 6 Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum  
bellum poterat) exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille pas-  
7 suum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, egressus omnibus  
copiis partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta ob-  
scuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque  
omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et mi-  
naci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem  
excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat. eadem equestris  
8 pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et quum, velut inter  
pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque  
referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes, impulsa  
Romana acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum  
9 insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt  
hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum,  
qui in praesidio relictos fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi  
Fidenates prius paene, quam Romulus, quique cum eo visi  
10 erant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque ef-  
fusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulates paulo ante secuti  
11 erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti;  
haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obice-  
rentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit.
- 15 Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et  
consanguinitate (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt), et  
quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta  
finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt  
2 populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris  
positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris  
praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam  
hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus in-  
3 tentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et  
ad urbem accessurum Veientes audire, obviam egressi, ut  
potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque

dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis, tantum veterani 4  
 robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad  
 moenia hostes urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit;  
 agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio;  
 eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veien- 5  
 tes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte  
 multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quo- 6  
 rum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post  
 mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando,  
 non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae.  
 Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in 7  
 quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini 8  
 tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissi-  
 mus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam cor-  
 poris, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam  
 in pace habuit.

His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum re- 16  
 censendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet,  
 subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam  
 denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus contioni abs-  
 tulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, 2  
 sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena,  
 et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi  
 satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem rap-  
 tum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum ali-  
 quamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, de- 3  
 um deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvare  
 universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti vo-  
 lens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem Fuisse credo 4  
 tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem patrum manibus  
 taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque, sed preobscura  
 fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilita-  
 vit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. 5  
 Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et

- infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in contionem prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Quum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset, "Abi, nuntia" inquit "Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse." "Haec" inquit "locutus sublimis abiit."
- 8 Mirum, quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fidei fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.
- 17 Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat; necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat; factionibus inter ordines certabatur.
- 2 Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequam, possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experti.
- 4 Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summae rerum praeesent consociant. Decem imperitabant; unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio fiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Quum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum, ultro rati, quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summa potestate populo

permissa, ut non plus darent iuris quam retinerent. Dece- 9  
 verunt enim. ut, quum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum  
 esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus  
 magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius, vi adempta:  
 priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum  
 eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex, contione advo- 10  
 cata, " Quod bonum faustum felixque sit " inquit, " Quirites, re-  
 gem create; ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dig-  
 num, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, crearitis, auctores  
 fient." Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio vi- 11  
 derentur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret,  
 qui Romae regnaret.

Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompilii 18  
 erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir. ut in illa  
 quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris.  
 Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium 2  
 Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae, centum  
 amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum  
 Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus  
 habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, 3  
 qua fama in Sabinos aut quo linguae commercio quemquam  
 ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? quove praesidio unus per  
 tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte 4  
 igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor  
 magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disci-  
 plina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum  
 quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae patres Ro- 5  
 mani, quanquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto  
 videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium  
 nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro  
 ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum cederendum  
 decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda  
 regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit, Inde 6  
 ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuum-  
 que sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide ad mori-

- 7 diem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dexteris ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem
- 8 esse dixit; signum contra, quo longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato,
- 9 dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est: "Iuppiter pater, si est fas, hunc Numam Pompilius, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa acclarassis
- 10 inter eos fines, quos feci," Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vellet. Quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.
- 19 Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat.
- 2 Quibus quum inter bella assuescere videret non posse (quippe efferari militia animos), mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellicae fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pa-
- 8 catus circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab imperatore
- 4 Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta. Clauso eo, quum omnium circa finitimum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positus externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniiciendum
- 5 ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituer, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere. Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses describit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis

mensibus luna non explet desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando 7 nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat. Tum sacerdotibus 20 creandis animum adiecit, quanquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed 2 quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum alterum Quirino, virgines- 3 que Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut assiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti 4 Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit. Pontificem deinde Numam 5 Marcium Marci filium ex patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque 6 sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris negligendo patrios ritus peregrinosque addiscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias, sed 7 iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a 21 vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant,



- et deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum pro obnoxio legum ac poenarum me-
- 2 tu civitatem regerent. Et quum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent
- 3 nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent.
- 4 Et [soli] Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes, fidem tutandam se-
- 5 demque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela
- 6 per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Quum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas
- 22** Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cuius in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit; patres auctores
- 2 facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Quum aetas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem
- 3 otio, ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano
- 4 mano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Gaius Clulius Albae. Utrunque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat, negaturum Albanum; ita pie

bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti 5  
hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comi fronte regis convivi-  
um celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repeterant priores  
et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec  
renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem. 6  
quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum pur-  
gando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam, quod minus placeat  
Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se venisse;  
ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus "Nuntiate" 7  
inquit "regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, ut  
prius populus res repentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut  
in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli." Haec nuntiant 23  
domum Albani. Et bellum utrinque summa ope parabatur.  
civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troia-  
nam utramque prolem, quum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio  
Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent.  
Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, 2  
quod nec acie certatum est et, tectis modo dirutis alterius  
urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti 3  
exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe  
haud plus quinque millia passuum locant, fossa circumdant;  
fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est,  
donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris 4  
Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium  
Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis,  
magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne  
nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dic-  
titans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu in agrum  
Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium. Ducit, 5  
qua proxime ad hostem potest; inde legatum praemissum nun-  
tiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si  
aecum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quae nihilo  
minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud 6  
aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana afferri rebatur, in aciem educit.  
Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam instructi utrinque sta-

- 7 bant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: "Iniurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Clulium causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor, nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perperam, interpretor: fuerit ista eius deliberatio, qui bellum suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello duces creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim. Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent.
- 9 Memor esto, iam quum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac victum aggrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam, non-contenti libertate certa, in dubiam imperii servitii que aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit." Haud displicet res Tullo, quanquam quum indole animi, tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrinque
- 24 ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent: hos ut sequar, inclinatus animus.
- 2 Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro; ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil
- 3 recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum
- 4 eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: "Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani

foedus ferire?" Iubente rege, "Sagmina" inquit "te rex, posco." Rex ait: "[Puram] tollito." Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam 5 puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: "Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Fetialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem 6 patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbenam caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis. "Audi" inquit, "Iuppiter; audi, pater patratus populi Albani; audi tu, populus Albanus. Ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum illo die, Iuppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum 9 saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

Foedere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. 25 Quum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suo pte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum, infestisque 3 armis velut acies terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim 4

concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror  
 ingens spectantes perstringit, ut neutro inclinata spe torpebat  
 5 vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, quum iam non  
 motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorum-  
 que, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo  
 Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expi-  
 6 rantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum quum conclamasset gaudio  
 Albanus exercitus. Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum  
 tamen cura deseruerat, examines vicem unius, quem tres Cu-  
 7 riatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus  
 nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segre-  
 garet pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut  
 8 quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum  
 spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, quum respiciens  
 videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese  
 9 abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus exer-  
 citus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius,  
 caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore,  
 qualis esse ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant mi-  
 10 litem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat, Prius itaque, quam  
 alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Cu-  
 11 riatium conficit; iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed  
 nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et  
 geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter  
 fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque fra-  
 trum ante se strage victori obiiicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium  
 12 fuit. Romanus exsultans "Duos" inquit "fratrum manibus dedi;  
 tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo."  
 Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit, iacentem  
 13 spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt,  
 eo maiore cum gaudio, quod prope metum res fuerat. Ad  
 sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur,  
 quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti.  
 14 Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno  
 loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia  
 locis, ut et pugnatum est.

Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettius ex foedere **26**  
 icto, quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti iuventutem in armis  
 habeat; usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus  
 foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius **2**  
 ibat, trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae  
 desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam  
 fuit, cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento sponsi,  
 quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine spon-  
 sum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci iuveni animum complo- **3**  
 ratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto  
 itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. "Abi **4**  
 hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum" inquit, "oblita fra-  
 trum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat, quaecumque  
 Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum id facinus patribus **5**  
 plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstat. Tamen raptus  
 in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratiue ad vul-  
 gus iudicii ac, secundum iudicium, supplicii auctor esset, con-  
 cilio populi advocato "Duumviros" inquit, "qui Horatio per-  
 duellionem iudicent, secundum legem facio." Lex horrendi **6**  
 carminis erat; "Duumviri perduellionem iudicent; si a duum-  
 viris provocarit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnu-  
 bito; infelici arbori recte suspendito; verberato vel intra pomoe-  
 rium vel extra pomoeonium." Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se ab- **7**  
 solvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, quum  
 condemnassent, tum alter ex iis "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem  
 iudico" inquit. "I, lictor, colliga manus." Accesserat lictor **8**  
 iniiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente  
 legis interprete, "Provoco" inquit. Ita provocatione certatum  
 ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio maxime **9**  
 P. Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam iure caesam iudi-  
 care; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse.  
 Orbat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe  
 conspexissent, orbem liberis tacerent. Inter haec senex iuve- **10**  
 nem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum, fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila  
 Horatia appellatur, ostentans, "Huncce," aiebat, "quem modo

- decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum
- 11 ferre possent. I. lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomoerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomoerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatorum; quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a
- 12 tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, im-
- 13 peratum patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmissa per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper
- 14 refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.
- 27 Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerat, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupti, et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene even-
- 2 nerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis
- 3 per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii assumptis, pacto trans-
- 4 itionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Quum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veien-
- 5 tium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi [et] in acie prope flumen tenere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem dirigit

suos, Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit; inde, ubi satis 6 rubisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt: inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes 8 exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet; nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant; item imperat, ut hastas equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id, quod ab rege auditum erat, rati eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum 10 intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus, fusoque Fidenatium cornu, in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga in 11 clinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in 28 campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne alloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus, ut assolet, 2 vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi, novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio; 3



centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia ex-  
 4 sequerentur. Tum ita Tullus inquit: "Romana, si unquam ante  
 alias ullo in bello fuit, quod primum dis immortalibus gratias  
 ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium  
 fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam,  
 quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac  
 5 perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu  
 meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum,  
 sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis, ignoran-  
 tibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus, et hostibus,  
 6 circumveniri se ab tergo ratis, terror ac fuga iniiceretur. Nec  
 ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est; ducem secuti  
 sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem,  
 fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem  
 huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique  
 ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam  
 7 documentum mortalibus dederō." Centuriones armati Mettium  
 circumstant; rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit: "Quod bonum,  
 faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani,  
 populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est, ci-  
 vilitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam urbem,  
 unam rem publicam facere; ut ex uno quondam in duos po-  
 8 pulos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat." Ad  
 hanc Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis saepta, in variis volun-  
 9 tatibus communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum  
 Tullus "Meti Fufeti" inquit, "si ipse discere posses fidem  
 ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset;  
 nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo sup-  
 plicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te vio-  
 lata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem  
 Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim  
 10 distrahendum dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in  
 currus earum distentum illigat Mettium; deinde in diversum  
 iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua in-  
 11 haeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta

foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit; in aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, quum, effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim, quibus quisque poterat, elatis, quum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, quum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbe Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deum (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et, quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars publica cresceret, legit, Tullios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam

- fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem ap-  
 3 pellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo  
 populo adiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit,  
 legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas  
 scripsit.
- 4 Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti  
 ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque.  
 Utrinque iniuriae factae ac res nequicquam erant repetitae:
- 5 Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Ro-  
 manos comprehensos querebatur, Sabini, *servos* suos prius in  
 lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur
- 6 Sabini, haud parum memores, et suarum virium partem Romae  
 ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adiectione  
 populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia.
- 7 Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde, ob  
 residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis,  
 voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe  
 etiam merces valuit; publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque  
 apud Veientes (nam de ceteris minus mirum est) pacta cum
- 8 Romulo indutiarum fides. Quum bellum utrinque summa ope  
 pararent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent,
- 9 occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad  
 silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum
- 10 equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equi-  
 tibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum, nec pugna  
 deinde illis constare nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.
- 31 Devictis Sabinis, quum in magna gloria magnisque opibus  
 regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patri-  
 2 busque est, in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse. Quod quum credi  
 vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu,  
 haud aliter quam quum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras
- 3 agunt, crebi cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem  
 ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani  
 facerent, quae, velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis,  
 oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut for-

tunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quo- 4  
que ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum  
est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa (nam id quo-  
que traditur) seu haruspicum monitu, mansit certe sollemne,  
ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem  
dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde 5  
quum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies  
dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae  
quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longin- 6  
quo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum cor-  
pore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset 6  
minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus  
magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret religioni-  
busque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo iam hominis, eum 7  
statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem  
aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata  
esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commen- 8  
tarios Numae, quum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Iovi  
Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis sacris se abdidisse; sed  
non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam  
ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava  
religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna  
gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, 32  
ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo co-  
mitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres  
fuere auctores. Numae Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus, An-  
cus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae 2  
memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una  
parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus  
aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica,  
ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere omnia ea ex commenta-  
riis regiis pontificem in album elata proponere in publico iu-  
bet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta

3 spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur  
 Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant  
 animos, et, quum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent,  
 repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem  
 Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum  
 4 rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli  
 memor: et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam  
 fuisse pacem credebat quum in novo, tum feroci populo, etiam,  
 quod illi contigisset otium sine iniuria, id se haud facile ha-  
 biturum; tentari patientiam et tentatam contemni, temporaque  
 5 esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen, quoniam  
 Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae  
 proderentur, nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella  
 aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Æquiculis, quod nunc fetia-  
 6 les habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur. Legatus ubi ad  
 fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo  
 (lanae velamen est) "Audi, Iuppiter" inquit; "audite, fines"  
 (cuiuscunque gentis sunt, nominat); "audiat fas: ego sum  
 publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio,  
 7 verbisque meis fides sit." Peragit deinde postulata. Inde  
 Iovem testem facit: "Si ego iniuste impieque illos homines  
 illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me  
 8 nunquam siris esse." Haec, quum fines suprascandit; haec, qui-  
 cunque ei primus vir obviis fuit, haec portam ingrediens,  
 haec forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique  
 9 iuris iurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur, quos exposcit,  
 diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim sollemnes sunt) peractis  
 bellum ita indicit: "Audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iane Quirine, diique  
 10 omnes caelestes, vosque terrestres vosque inferni, audite: ego  
 vos testor, populum illum" (quicumque est, nominat) "iniustum  
 esse neque ius persolvere; sed de istis rebus in patria maiores  
 natu consulamus, quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur." Cum  
 11 his nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex  
 his ferme verbis patres consulebat: "Quarum rerum, litium  
 causa condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri

patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari, solvi, fieri oportuit, dic" inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consensio consoiscoque." Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque pars maior eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum; ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut praeustam sanguineam ad fines eorum ferret et, non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus, diceret: "Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indice facioque." Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectis Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et quum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani impressent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanisque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini, eaque causa diruendae urbis eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria pugnatum est; nam et urbs tota munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis aliquoties exercitus Latinus cominus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copi-

- is connisus Ancus acie primum vincit ; inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae  
6 datae sedes. Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum  
7 in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis,  
8 Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe, imminens foro aedificatur.
- 9 Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Mesia Veientibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita; salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedes Iovis Feretrii amplificata.
- 34** Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris; cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe  
2 oriundus erat) facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus quum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta, duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore  
3 gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui quum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem  
4 bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi bonorum, quum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora  
5 sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum

videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est 6  
 ad id potissima visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina  
 atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo  
 viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam  
 a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una  
 imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum 7  
 et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque  
 rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat; 8  
 ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis dimissa  
 leniter alis pileum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno  
 clangore volitans rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, ca-  
 piti apte reponit; inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium 9  
 laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium pro-  
 digiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum  
 iubet: eam alitem ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse;  
 circa summum culmen hominis auspiciu fecisse; levasse hu-  
 mano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet.  
 Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, 10  
 domicilioque ibi comparato, L. Tarquinius Priscum edidere  
 nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; 11  
 et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi bene-  
 ficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando adiuwabatur, donec in  
 regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam 12  
 brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia in fa-  
 miliaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis  
 consiliis belli domique interesset, et per omnia expertus po-  
 stremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet su 35  
 periorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam  
 filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius  
 instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus 2  
 indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus  
 et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad  
 conciliandos plebis animos compositam. Quum se non rem  
 novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quispiam indig-



- nari mirarive possit, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum affectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis, non petentem, 4 in regnum ultro accitum; se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae 5 se quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse; 6 — haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant.
- 7 Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit; praedaeque inde maiore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta, ludos opulenter instructiusque quam priores 8 reges fecit. Tunc primum circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi 9 spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati; spectare furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie 10 appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda 36 divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, quum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus 2 Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est; et primo dubia victoria, magna utrinque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime

suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ratinos, Titenses, Luceros, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus 3 fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota; eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 4 "Age dum" inquit, "divine tu, inaugura, ferine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Quum ille augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc animo agitavi" inquit, "te novacula cotem discissurum. Cape haec et perage, quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt." Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, 5 quo in loco res acta est, in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, 6 ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisisset, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Postea 8 riores modo sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt; quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis configitur. 37 Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen coniecissent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna et pleraque in ratibus impacta publicis quum haerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque 2 res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fusis eadem fugam impedit, multique mortales, quum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso perire; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit; utrinque 3 ab cornibus positos, quum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum

- acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo  
 Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in  
 4 fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et  
 pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus  
 5 in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius, instandum perterritis ratus,  
 praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (id votum  
 Vulcano erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum  
 6 Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quanquam male gesta res  
 erat, nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia con-  
 sulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario  
 milite; iterumque ibi fusi, perditis iam prope rebus, pacem  
 38 petiere. Collatia et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis  
 ademptum; Egerius (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiae in  
 praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque  
 2 deditionis formulam esse: Rex interrogavit: "Estisne vos  
 legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque  
 Collatinum dederetis?"—"Sumus."—"Estne populus Colla-  
 tinus in sua potestate?"—"Est."—"Deditisne vos popu-  
 lumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra,  
 utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populiue Romani  
 dicionem?"—"Dedimus."—"At ego recipio."
- 3 Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam  
 4 redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit; ubi nusquam ad  
 universae rei dimicationem ventum est; ad singula oppida  
 circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum,  
 Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia,  
 Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defe-  
 5 cerant, capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta. Maiore inde  
 animo pacis opera inchoata, quam quanta mole gesserat bella,  
 ut non quietior populus domi esset quam militiae fuisset.
- 6 Nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello  
 turbatum erat, urbem qua nondum munierat, cingere parat,  
 et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus  
 convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas,  
 7 cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant, et aream ad aedem

in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventumque mirabile 39 fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu; plurimo igitur clamore 2 inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto, excitos reges, et quum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte experrectus esset; mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil "Viden' tu puerum 3 hunc" inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae afflictae; proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus." Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudiri que artibus, 4 quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile, quod diis cordi est. Iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae, nec, quum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae inventutis ulla arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quacunq; de causa tantus illi honos habitus 5 credere prohibet, serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui, Corniculo capto, Ser. Tullii, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, quum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci Tarquinii domi; inde tanto beneficio 6 et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur, fecisse

Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat 40 Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo 2 etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, se patrio regno

- tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tamen impensius iis indig-  
 2. num, sed praecipue inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum, quod Romulus, deo pro-  
 gnatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Quum commune Romani nominis,  
 tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salva, non modo advenia, sed servis etiam regnum  
 4. Romae pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt; sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si super-  
 esset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio occiso, quemcunque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem  
 5. facturum videbatur; ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae, quam potuere tumultuosissimae specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, quum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt.  
 6. Primo, uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui  
 7. desistunt; unus rem ex composito orditur. Quum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiiciunt.  
 41. Tarquinium moribundum quum, qui circa erant, exceperant, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque [populi] mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiicit. Simul, quae curando vulnere opus sunt, tanquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur.  
 2. Servio propere accito, quum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram, tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum  
 3. inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. "Tuum est" inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus passimur"

facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma; nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea sequere." Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex 4 superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas (habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris) populum Tanaquil alloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse; sopitum fuisse regem 5 subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se rediisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere, propediem ipsum eos viuros; interim Ser. Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea 6 et lictoribus prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, quum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte, per speciem alienae fuagenda vicis suas opes firmavit; tum demum palam factum est comploratione in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firmo munitus, primus iniussu populi, voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi iam tum, quum, comprehensis sceleris mini- 7 stris, vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant. Nec iam publicis magis 42 consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arrunti Tarquiniis, iungit; nec rupit tamen fati necessi- 2 tatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret.

Peroportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus (iam enim indutiae exierant) aliisque Etrusis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii; 3 fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Aggrediturque 4 inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut, quemadmodum Numa

divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis  
5 fortunaeque aliquid interlucet, posterius fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent; tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem  
43 ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum vel bello. Ex iis, qui centum millium aeris aut maiorem censum haberent, octoginta  
2 confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum; prima classis omnes appellati; seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, haec, ut tegumenta corporis essent, tela in hostem hastaque et gladius.  
3 Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent.  
4 Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta millium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae; arma imperata scutum pro clipeo  
5 et praeter lorica omnia eadem. Tertiae classis quinquaginta millium censum esse voluit; totidem centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatum factae; nec de armis quicquam  
6 mutatum; ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti millium, totidem centuriae factae, arma  
7 mutata: nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta; centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi, cornicines tubicinesque in tres centurias distributi. Undecim millibus haec classis  
8 censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis  
9 duodecim scripsit centurias; sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena millia aeris, ex publico data, et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina millia aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia

in dītes a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos 10  
 additus. Non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant  
 reges, viritum suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce  
 omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quis-  
 quam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis  
 esset; equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae 11  
 classis centuriae [primum peditum vocabantur]; ibi si variaret,  
 quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere  
 unquam infra ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent.  
 Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas 12  
 quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis  
 iuniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam  
 non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus 13  
 collibusque, qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit,  
 ut ego arbitror, a tributo; nam eius quoque aequaliter ex  
 censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus  
 ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam perti-  
 nuere.

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis 44  
 latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives  
 Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo  
 Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem 2  
 suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum,  
 quia is censendo finis factus est. Millia octoginta eo lustro  
 civium censa dicuntur; adiicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius  
 Pictor, eorum, qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse.  
 Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. 3  
 Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps  
 augeat Esquiliis; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat;  
 aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomoerium  
 profert. Pomoerium verbi vim solam intuentes postmoerium 4  
 interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus  
 quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum  
 ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant,  
 ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur,



quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid  
 5 ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hec spatium, quod neque  
 habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum  
 esset, quam quod murus post id, pomoerium Romani appel-  
 larunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia pro-  
 cessura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

- 45 Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi  
 et ad belli et ad pacis usus ne semper armis opes acquire-  
 rentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod  
 2 addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae  
 fanum; id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum, fama  
 ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire  
 Servius inter procures Latinorum, cum quibus publice priva-  
 timque hospitium amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe  
 iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae  
 3 populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat con-  
 fessio, caput rerum Romam esse, de quo toties armis certatum  
 fuerat. Id quanquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Lati-  
 norum ob rem toties infelicitur tentatam armis videbatur,  
 uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii  
 4 recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur  
 miranda magnitudine ac specie; fixa per multas aetates cornua  
 in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo.  
 5 Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cuius  
 civitatis eam civis Dianae immolasset, ibi fore imperium;  
 6 idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae. Sabinaus,  
 ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam  
 deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes  
 Romanus, quum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama mo-  
 visset, memor responsi Sabinum ita alloquitur: "Quidnam tu,  
 hospes, paras?" inquit, "inceste sacrificium Dianae facere?  
 Quin tu ante vive perfunderis flumine? infima valla praefluit  
 7 Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio  
 responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit  
 ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire  
*gratum* regi atque civitati fuit.

Servius quanquam iam usu haud dubie regnum posse-<sup>46</sup>  
derat tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene Tarquinio  
audiebat, se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate  
plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre  
ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu,  
quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque <sup>2</sup>  
ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit; immo eo  
impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate  
senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in  
curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis  
animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante.  
Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut <sup>3</sup>  
taedio regnum maturior veniret libertas ultimumque regnum  
esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci <sup>4</sup>  
Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus  
tamen auctoribus filium ediderim) fratrem habuerat Arruntem  
Tarquinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante <sup>5</sup>  
dictum est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae longe  
disparis moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia  
matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo  
diuturnius Servii regnum esset constituique civitatis mores  
possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia, nihil materiae in viro neque <sup>6</sup>  
ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa  
Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine  
ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret  
audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit, malum <sup>7</sup>  
malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum  
est. Ea secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus nullis ver-  
borum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad  
virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse,  
contendere, quam cum impari; nunc elanguescendum aliena  
ignavia esse; si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, <sup>8</sup>  
domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem  
videat. Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet. Arruns <sup>9</sup>  
Tarquinius et Tullia minor, prope continuatis funeribus quum

domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis,  
**47** magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante. Tum vero  
 in dies infestior Tullii senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse;  
 iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus. Nec  
 nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeter-  
**2** ita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur,  
 nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum  
 putaret, qui meminisset, se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui  
**3** habere quam sperare regnum mallet. "Si tu is es, cui nuptam  
 esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo  
 nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus.  
**4** Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis,  
 ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates  
 patriique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale  
**5** solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si  
 ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? quid te  
 ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinius  
 aut Corinthum; devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior  
**6** quam patris," His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec  
 conquiescere ipsa potest, si, quum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier,  
 tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro  
 ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum  
**7** momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret, His mulie-  
 bribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare mi-  
 norum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii  
 ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; quum de  
 se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis  
**8** crescere. Postremo, ut iam agenda rei tempus visum est,  
 stipatus agmine armatorum in forum irrupit. Inde omnibus  
 perculsis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens patres in  
 curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit.  
**9** Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeeparati, alii  
 metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo atto-  
**10** niti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab  
 stirpe ultima orsus: Servum servaque natum post mortem indig-

nam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorum 11 infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in 12 primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset 48 trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce "Quid hoc" inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considerare mea?" Quum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo, 2 quam servum, potiozem filium regis regni heredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque, regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, 3 necessitate iam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque 4 comitum; ipse prope exsanguis ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non 5 abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu 6 quum regio comitatu se domum reciperent pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Eequiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque 7 locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum

egisse fertur, partemque, sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes propediem excitus sequerentur.

- 8 Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset; ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum
- 9 illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse, quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitati intervenisset.
- 49 Inde L. Tarquinius regnare coepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebatur interfecit; conscius deinde, male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus
- 3 se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque
- 4 populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset, Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium
- 5 rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare
- 6 posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto, statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset,
- 7 minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus
- 8 voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus
- 9 eorum, sed affinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio

Tusculano (is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius conciliat.

Iam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres 50 erat, quum in diem certam, ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant, indicit; esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Con- 2 veniunt frequentes prima luce; ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante, quam sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus 3 Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen. (Iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen eum appellabant.) An quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe a domo excitis. 4 ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Tentari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, affectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud 5 et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quanquam ne sic quidem alienigenae, debere; sin suos eius paeniteat, 6 quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos diem concilii, quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. Haec atque 7 alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus quum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit; aversi omnes ad Tar- 8 quinium salutandum. Qui, silentio facto, monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse, et, quia ea res emisisset illum diem, postero die acturum, quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab 9 Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim, nullam breviorum esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi

- verbis posse; ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.
- 51 Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto, quam videbatur, aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis iniiceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrumpit, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladiatorum inferri clam sineret. Ea quum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius, paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia illatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Aggressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiatorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant.
- 7 Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, quum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa, iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur.
- 9 Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa, novo genere leti, deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae, crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis, mergeretur.
- 52 Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius collauda-

tisque, qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto patricidio merita poena affecissent, ita verba fecit: Posse quidem se 2 vetusto iure agere, quod, quum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, [in] eo foedere teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium; ceterum se 3 utilitatis [id] magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpassi sint, semper aut exspectent aut patiantur. Haud difficulter per- 4 suasum Latinis, quanquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat; ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, 5 indictumque iunioribus Latiorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edic- 6 tum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; 53 quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum 2 in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suesamque Pometiam ex iis vi cepit. Ubi quum divendenda 3 praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset; captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, pro- 4 pinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, quum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, aggressus est. Nam quum; velat 5



- posito bello, fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se
- 6 saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: Iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat.
- 7 Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per
- 8 occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque [se] inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos
- 9 sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inven-
- 10 turum. Quum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum
- 11 in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana
- 54 moenia bellum transferatur. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi quum de aliis rebus assentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam assumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset sciretque, invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent.
- 2 Ita quum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et, dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis,
- 3 vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi quum, inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium

dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero 4  
 obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo  
 tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae  
 quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium col- 5  
 lectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum scisci-  
 tatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet,  
 quando quidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii dedissent.  
 Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce 6  
 responsum est; rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium  
 transit sequente nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa  
 papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando 7  
 exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta,  
 redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit, refert; seu ira  
 seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse.  
 Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis amb- 8  
 agibus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud popu-  
 lum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi palam,  
 quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam  
 interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exilium 9  
 acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisi  
 fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati com- 10  
 modi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio  
 auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in  
 manum traditur.

55

Gabiis receptis, Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente  
 fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana  
 animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Iovis templum  
 in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relin-  
 queret: Tarquinius reges ambos patrem vovisse, filium perfe-  
 cisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis 2  
 templique eius, quod inaedificaretur, exangurare fana sacellaque  
 statuit, quae aliquot ibi, a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine  
 adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque  
 postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse 3  
 numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam

- quum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves,  
 4 in Termini fano non addixere; idque omen auguriumque ita  
 acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deo-  
 rum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta  
 5 portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud  
 magnitudinem imperii protendens prodigium est caput huma-  
 num integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur ap-  
 6 paruisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam  
 imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat; idque ita cecinere  
 vates, quique in urbe erant quosque ad eam rem consultan-  
 7 dam ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis  
 animus; itaque Pomptinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad cul-  
 men operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere.  
 8 Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim,  
 9 quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadra-  
 ginta millia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, sum-  
 mam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et  
 nullius ne horum quidem [magnificentiae] operum fundamenta  
 56 non exsuperaturam. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undi-  
 que ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est  
 usus sed operis etiam ex plebe, Qui quum haud parvus et  
 ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur,  
 2 se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis, quam postquam et  
 ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto maioris tra-  
 ducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maxi-  
 mam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terra  
 agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia  
 3 quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia  
 et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse,  
 et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Sig-  
 niam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra  
 marique.  
 4 Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columna  
 lignea elapsus quum terrorem fugamque in regia fecisset, ipsius  
 regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus quam anxii im-

plevit curis. Itaque quum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum 5  
vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Del-  
phos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit.  
Neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios 6  
per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Graeciam  
misit. Titus et Arruns profecti; comes iis additus L. Iunius 7  
Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus, iuvenis longe alius in-  
genii, quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is quum primores  
civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum au-  
disset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in  
fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus  
esse, ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria 8  
factus ad imitationem stultitiae, quum se suaque praedae esse  
regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuït cognomen, ut sub eius  
obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens  
opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Del- 9  
phos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum  
corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur,  
per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, 10  
perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit animos iuvenum sci-  
scitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum.  
Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: "Imperium summum  
Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri  
tulerit." Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ig- 11  
narus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri  
iubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, quum Romam redissent, matri  
osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare 12  
Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo  
contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium  
esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum 13  
summa vi parabatur.

Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque 57  
in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens; eaque ipsa causa belli fuit,  
quod rex Romanus quum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia  
publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popularium animos

2 studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quod  
 se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab  
 3 rege indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi  
 Ardea posset; ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitioni-  
 4 busque coepti premi hostes. In his stativis, ut fit longo ma-  
 gis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus  
 5 tamen magis quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum  
 6 otium conviviis comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte  
 potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cena-  
 bat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio. Suam  
 7 quisque laudare miris modis; inde certamine accenso, Colla-  
 tinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse  
 sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua "Quin, si vigor  
 iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes  
 nostrarum ingenia? id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod neco-  
 8 pinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis." Incaluerant vino; "Age  
 sane" omnes; citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo quum primis  
 se intendentibus tenebris pervenisset, pergunt inde Collatiam,  
 9 ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio  
 luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte  
 sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantem ancillas in medio aedium  
 10 sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam  
 fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquinique excepti benigne; victor ma-  
 ritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium  
 mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; quum forma, tum  
 11 spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali  
 58 ludo in castra redeunt; paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarqui-  
 2 nius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi  
 exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii, quum post cenam in ho-  
 spitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis  
 tuta circa sopitque omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dor-  
 mientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore  
 oppresso "Tace, Lucretia" inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; fer-  
 3 rum in manu est; mori, si emiseric vocem." Quum pavida  
 ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem vi-

deret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatum videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore quum vicisset obstinatum pudicitiam vel vi victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae obortae. quaerentique viro "Satin salve?" "Minime" inquit; "quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibi, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti; mentem peccare, non corpus, et, unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos" inquit "videritis, quid illi debeatur; ego me etsi peccato absolve, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet." Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit, prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque; Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore prae se tenens, "Per hunc" inquit "castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacunque denique vi possim, exacturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum." Cultrum deinde

- Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur duces.
- 3 Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se
- 4 quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet quum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigatior lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera iuventus.
- Inde parte praesidio relicta Collatiae ad portas custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati
- 6 duce Bruto Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacunque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quicquid sit, haud temere
- 7 esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat; ergo ex omnibus locis urbis forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunalum celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit.
- 8 Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinius, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mortis
- 9 indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae; Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum,
- 10 opifices ac lapidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patri nefando
- 11 vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subiicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exsulesque
- 12 esse iuberet L. Tarquinius cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad con-

citandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia 13 domo profugit, execrantibus, quacunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, quum re nova tre-60 pidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus (senserat enim adventum), ne obvius fieret: eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque 2 indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex Tarquinius Gabios tanquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum simulatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. 3 Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tullii creati sunt L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

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# TITI LIVII

## HISTORIARUM ROMANARUM

### LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT.

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#### NOTAE AD PRAEFATIONEM.

1-5. It is hard to say whether my work will be of anyvalue, 'for two reasons: (1) I may be no better than previous historians in matter or style. (2) Early Roman History is considered so tedious and uninteresting. To myself however it is a great pleasure to do something for the commemoration of my country's exploits, and to turn to early times from the dreadful scenes of the recent Civil War.

1. *facere operae pretium* = either (1) 'to do what is worth doing,' as here, or (2) 'to value their exertion,' 27, 17, 14.

*ausim*, old form for 'ausus sim,' only used in hesitating assertions, and in prose writing, except once (Liv. 8, 40, 5) only in negative sentences.

*quippe qui*, 'inasmuch as I see that it is both an old and hackneyed thing to say so (i.e. that their work will be of value), new writers always believing, &c.' For this use of 'dum,' cf. 8, 40, 4, 'vitiata memoria, funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis dum familia ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio trahunt.

3. *memoriae . . . consuluisse*, 'to have helped to perpetuate.'  
*nobilitate*, 'renown.'

4. *quae supra . . . repetatur*, which begins more than seven centuries back.' Compare with this paragraph Thuc. I. 22, τὸ μὴ μυθώδες αὐτῶν ἀρεπτότερον φανείναι, which shows the difference between the Greek and Latin mind.

5. *curae*, anxiety lest he should cause offence in writing about contemporary persons and events.

*scribentis*, 'if one did write that history.'

6. *Quae . . . traduntur*. 'The events related to have happened before the building of the city was effected or purposed, which are more suited to romantic stories than to veritable history.' Weiss takes 'decora' = 'adorned with,' but acknowledges that the other is the more usual sense in Livy; cf. 42, 5.

7. *consecrare . . . auctores*, 'to refer their first beginnings to heaven and ascribe them originally to the gods.'

8. *haud* goes with 'magno' not 'ponam,' as it does not usually qualify verbs.

9. *mihi*, ethical dative. 'I would have every reader, &c.' cf. *Hic tibi rostra Cato advolat*. 'Then you have Cato flying to the rostrum.' Cic. Att. 1, 14, 5.

*disciplina*, 'tone of morality' (Seeley).

*desidentes . . . lapsi sunt*, 'sinking' . . . 'tottered,' metaphor from a building whose foundations give way.

*remedia*, the reforming measures of Augustus.

10. *illud*, pred. 'this is just that healthful, &c.'  
*inde . . . foedum*, supply some word like 'aspicias' out of 'capias.'  
 11. *civitatem*, attracted into the case of the relative, for 'nec civitas fuit in quâ, &c.' cf. 1, 8. in quem primum egressi sunt locum.  
*avaritia luxuriaque*, 'the disposition to greed and excessive indulgence.' 'luxus' is the excessive indulgence itself.  
 12. *desiderium*, 'a longing for them,' (viz. pleasures) owing to excessive indulgence and the wild desire of destroying themselves and all things else. 'perco' stands for the middle voice of 'perdo.'  
*forsitan*, used parenthetically; otherwise it would take the subjunctive.

## NOTAE AD LIBRUM I.

1. 1. *duobus*, dat. commodi, 'in favour of two.' The usual construction after 'abstinere' is either the abl. simply, or with 'ab.' cf. for the dative, 'solstitium pecori defendite.' Verg. E. 7, 47.  
*vetusti* = 'of long standing.'  
 2. *casibus deinde variis*, 'their fortunes diverging from this point.'  
 3. *locum*, attracted into the case of the relative. Pref. 11.  
*Troiano*, usual construction. 'His name is Caius,' may be either  
 (1) *Ei Caius nomen est*, or (2) *Ei est Caio nomen*. cf. c. 34, 3.  
*appellati*, sense const. with a noun of multitude.  
 4. *ab*, 'in consequence of.' *majora rerum initia*. This is called hypallage. We should expect the adj. to agree with 'rerum'; but 'rerum initia' is regarded as one idea. cf. *violati hospitii foedus*. 9, 13.  
*Macedoniam . . . Siciliam*. Æneas is said to have founded Ænea, the most westerly town in Chalcidice, and Egesta, in Sicily. Wherever we hear of Æneas landing, we find a temple to Aphrodite. Now, the name Æneas seems closely connected with this worship; perhaps it is an epithet of the goddess. Dionysius twice mentions temples of 'Ἀφροδίτῃ Αἰνεας' (Seeley, Pref. xx).  
*Laurentem*, Verg. makes Æneas land more to the N. at the mouth of the Tiber.  
*tenuisse*, supply 'cursum.' cf. *medio tutissimus ibis . . . Inter utrumque tene*. Ov. M. 2, 137.  
 5. *Troiae*. The MSS. read *Troia*. Madvig corrected it.  
*immenso prope*, go closely together; for 'immensus' = 'infinite.'  
 7. *unde . . . exissent*. Note in questions how the Latins often use disjunctive when we use copulative conjunctions.  
 8. *urbi*. All the MSS. except M. read 'urbis.' Frey attempts to show that the dat. means simply 'for founding a city;' but the gen. 'site of the city's foundations,' supposed to be already fixed upon by fate.  
 9. *fuisse in hospitio*, compare in caritate atque hospitio esse. 39, 6.  
 10. *affirmat*, 'helps to confirm.'  
 11. *stirps* means sometimes 'origin,' 'ancestor;' sometimes, as here, 'offspring.' cf. c. 3, 1. There is another form of the nominative, 'stirpis,'

2. 1. *Turnus*. His name looks like *Τυρρηνός* Etruscan. Vergil, to oppose him to Æneas, makes him of Greek descent, from Danaë.

3. *Latinum amisere*. The Latin heroes do not, like the Greek, die, but are no more seen (*nusquam apparuerunt*): Festus tells us Latinus became Jupiter Latiaris, just what is told of Æneas below.

*Caëre* must be dat.; for if it were the abl. of place, we should require 'in opulento tum oppido.' Riddle and White give the word as indeclinable.

*socia*, proleptic.

5. *Fretusque*, 'que' = 'accordingly,' 'the result was.'

*Secundum*, 'favourable.'

*Situs est*. The regular inscription on tombstones was, 'hic situs est.'

*quemcunque . . . est*. The Romans were very much afraid of calling gods by a wrong name. cf. in Horace, 'Matutine pater seu Iane libentius audis.'

*Iovem indigitem*, indiges, from 'indo,' old form of 'in,' and root gen. (*gigeno, gignō, genus, &c.*) The *dii indigetes* were the 'inborn,' protecting gods of the country, closely connected with definite localities; the *ἡρώες ἐμυώπιοι, ἡρόνιοι* of the Greeks. Preller, p. 83, thinks that this 'indiges' was originally the river-god of the Numicus, but when Æneas came to be regarded as the founder of Lavinium, the *cultus* was transferred to him.

3. 1. *stetit* = 'was maintained for the boy.'

2. *hicine fuerit Ascanius*, 'whether this was the Ascanius . . . . whom under the name of (eundem) Iulus.'

*nuncupat*, mostly used in law language of formal declarations. cf. 4, 2.

3. *multitudine* = 'population.'

*Longa Alba*. The unusual position of the adj. tends to emphasize it.

4. *Lavinium*, supply, 'conditum.'

*inter*, 'during a woman's guardianship, &c.'

*rudimentum*, 'feeble essays.'

6. *Silvius*: According to the oldest legends Romulus was considered the grandson of Æneas; but when it was discovered that the Greeks fixed the fall of Troy at 1184 B.C., to fill up this gap to 754 B.C. the long line of Alban kings was elaborated. It first appears in Alexander Polyhistor, a writer of the time of Sulla.

7. *creat*, cf. *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis*. Hor. Ode 4, 4, 29.

*Prisci Latins*, hi, qui priusquam conderetur Roma, fuerunt (Festus). They were called 'prisci,' afterwards, to distinguish them from the Latin communities beyond the bounds of Latium.

*cognomen*, used for 'nomen,' for Silvius is a gentile name. The 'præ-nomen' is the name of the individual (e.g. Publius), the 'nomen,' the name of the 'gens,' or clan. (e.g. Cornelius), the 'cognomen' the name of the particular family (e.g. Scipio), the 'agnomen,' the surname derived from some distinction (e.g. Africanus).

8. *Tiberinus*. The root Preller (511 note) says, is Tib or Tif found in many Italian words Tibur, Tifata, and means a 'mountain torrent.' If we accept the derivation of Albula (which is connected with Alpes and Elbe) from a Celtic word meaning mountain, both the words will have the same

meaning. Curtius, however (Gk. Et. No. 399) connects all these words with 'albus' = 'white.'

9. *per manus tradidit*, 'handed down in regular succession.' cf. *traditaeque per manus religiones*, 5, 51, 4.

10. *maximus*, so we might say 'the eldest,' even when speaking of only two brothers.

11. *Reae*, a genuine Italian word = *voti rea*, 'the devoted,' or 'consecrated one.' Schwegler explains *Rhea Silvia* as = the Idaean *Rhea*, (*ῥῆη* = *silva*). Horace and other poets call her *Ilia*.

*legisset*, 'capere,' is sometimes used in the same sense.

4. 1. *debeatur*, 'was due to,' 'is to be ascribed to the fates,' against which man strives in vain.

2. *incertae*, 'unfathered.'

3. *datur*. The original meaning of 'do,' is 'to place,' connected with the I.E. root *dha*, seen in Gk. *θεῖναι*. It appears quite plainly in 'abdo,' (to put away, hide), 'condo,' to put together, finish, complete, 44, 2.

4. *Forte quadam an divinitus*. In the MSS. 'an,' is omitted. If so translate, 'By some chance it providentially happened that.' To men it seemed a chance, but it was ordered by Providence, cf. the Gk. *θεῖα τὴν τύχην*. It is the opposite of 'forte temere' = 'by mere chance.'

*nec . . . amnis*, 'did not admit of its regular river-bed being approached.' 'Iustus' is applied to anything that fully answers to its idea, as *iusta pugna*, a regular battle, *iustum bellum* (15, 1), regular war. *languida*, 'stagnant.'

5. *in proxima eluvie*, 'at the nearest point of the overflow.'

*Ruminalis*. 'Rumina,' was a goddess whose name was derived from 'ruma,' an old Latin word for the breast. cf. *subrumi agni*. She is then the goddess of suckling, perhaps her name is only an epithet of *Fauna*. The word *Romulus* then suggested to a Roman ear the notion of suckling, and hence *Romulus* and *Remus* (the twin *Lares* of the Roman State) are represented as sucking children, (Seeley, *Hist. Ex.* p. 32). This reasoning is not very satisfactory. The real derivation of *Roma* is no doubt from the root *ru* that appears in *ῥέω*, so that it means 'the stream-town.'

6. *vastae*, 'wild.'

*lupam*, suggested by the worship of *Faunus Lupercus*. *Faunus* (Hor. Ode iii. 18), not only drives away wolves, but deprives them of their savageness. He is the favouring god (*faveo*), and *Faustulus* is but another name for him ('he who brings help,' *tul*, as in *opi-tul-ari*). *Acca Larentia* is the mother of the *Lares*, 'acca' being an old word for mother.

8. *peragrarē*, Historical infinitive. Several more follow.

9. *subsistere*, (1) 'to withstand.' cf. 9, 31, 6, et *praepotentem armis Romanum nec acies subsistere ullas* . . . poterunt. (2) 'to lie in wait for.' Sil. Ital. 13, 221. *Subsidere saepe leonem adsuerat*.

*seria ac iocos celebrare* = 'used to engage in business and festivity.'

5. 1. *hoc*, the festival still observed.

*Palatium*, connected with the root *pa*, that appears in *pascor*, *Pales* (the god of cattle), and perhaps also in the Greek *Πάν*. The close resemblance between the attributes and worship of *Pan Lycaeus* and of

Faunus Lupercus led to a connection being assumed between them. The worship of the former was then said to have been introduced by Kvander (the good man), who, however, is only a euhemerized form of old Faunus himself (the helping god). By euhemerism I mean the historical explanation of mythological stories: deities turned into men. See introduction.

2. *ex eo genere* = gente, of that race, &c., that inhabited Pallanteum.  
*tempestatibus* = temporibus. cf. 30, 4.

*Inuus*, an epithet of Faunus. The castrum Inui mentioned by Verg. *Æneid*, 8, 775, was probably a shepherd's station.

3. *ultra*, 'and actually accuse him,' *ultra* = going beyond what was to be expected. The robbers themselves were the guilty parties.

4. *impetum*, the 'system of attack,' a collective idea. If it referred to a single attack, 'factum esse' would be, I think, used. Some editions read 'impetus.' (acc. plu.)

6. *comparando*. This use of the abl. of the gerund is generally found only in relation to the subject of the sentence. cf. *nando* (7, 4), *conciendo* (8, 5). Here, however, Numitori is the logical subject.

*ut haud . . . agnosceret*, 'that he all but openly recognised Remus. He told Remus his opinion privately, no doubt, else how would Remus have helped in the attack on Amulius? 'Esset' is impersonal = *haud procul abesset*.

7. *ad*. We should expect 'in.' cf. however such expressions as 'ad hos ducta legio' (11, 1). The story of the exposing of Romulus and Remus is a free fiction, founded, to a considerable extent, on the story of the birth and rearing of Cyrus in Herodotus (1, 107, foll.)

6. 1. *in arcem . . . obtinendam* = *in arcem ad eam obtinendam*. cf. 2, 48, 4. *Caeso missus in ipsorum Æquorum agrum depopulandum transit*.

*ut geniti . . . essent*, 'their birth, rearing, and recognition.'

2. *agmine*, a sort of adverbial abl. cf. 7, 20, 9. *Populatione peragraré fines*; also 11, 9, *fraude* = fraudulenter. Its use in such expressions as *silentio*, *ordine*, *consensu*, is very common.

*ratum*, 'valid.' The opposite is *irritus*.

3. *supererat*, 'was too great;' *et* 'and indeed.'

*ad id pastores quoque accesserant*. The oldest tradition said Rome was founded by shepherds; a later one, that it was a colony from Alba. Livy unites both. Note the use of the pluperfect, it being the subsequent events that are present to the writer's mind. cf. 7, 1; *consalutaverat*, 12, 10, *averterat*. Mr. Seeley would translate these pluperfects, 'saluted for a moment,' 'diverted for a moment.'

*qui . . . facerent*, 'with such spirit as to cherish a hope.' Generic subjunctive. lit. = *tales qui*, 'of such a nature that they,' &c.

4. *satis miti*, 'slight enough.'

*qui* = *uter*, as in the celebrated lines: 'Quis (sc. Caesar or Pompeius) iustius induit arma scire nefas; magno se iudice quisque tuetur: Victrix causa deis placuit scire victa Catoni.' (Lucan i. 126). cf. also 24, 3.

*ad inaugurandum*, 'to observe the birds.'

*templa*, technical word for spaces marked out with a set form of words for the purpose of augury. Generally it is the spaces marked out in the heavens; here, 'the place of observation.'

7. 1. *consalutaverat*, cf. note to 6, 3.  
*tempore trahebant*, 'the one party claimed the kingdom on the strength of a priority in time, the other on that of number of birds. 'trahere' = 'to draw to themselves.'
2. *altercatione*, 'wrangle.'  
*certamine irarum*, 'from (i.e. in consequence of) the hot rivalry of their passions.'  
*increpitans*, 'sharply assailing.' This story is invented to account for the Roman doctrine of the sanctity and inviolability of city walls. These kind of myths are called 'aitiological,' i.e. 'assigning causes.'
3. *Graeco ritu*, with uncovered head; the Roman covered his head when worshipping.
4. *Herculem*. The Latin Hercules is the god of fidelity (cf. *me hercule*), the same as the Sabine Semo Sancus. He is also the god of property, and the enclosed homestead (*hercere ἔρκειν*)  
*laeto*, regular word for rich vegetation. *Quid faciat laetas segetes*. Verg. G. 1, 1.
5. *sopor*, 'deep sleep.' cf. *sopiti* 'fast asleep,' 58, 2.  
*Cacus*. By some supposed to be connected with *κακός* 'the bad man,' opposed to Evander, 'the good man.' The difference of quantity is against this. He is rather 'Caecus,' like the founder of Praeneste Caeculus, son of Vulcan. Preller connects it with *καυω*. The whole story of Hercules and Cacus is aitiological—to explain the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima. See introduction.  
*ferox*, 'relying proudly on.'  
*agendo*, note on 5, 6.  
*aversos* . . . *trahit*, 'dragged all the finest-looking oxen backwards (aversos) by their tails into his cave.' Madvig, comparing 'relictarum' (§ 6), proposes *aversas* . . . *exiniam quamque*.
6. *si forte*, 'to see if possibly.' cf. 57, 3.  
*animi*, locative: frequent in the expression *pendere animi*, and with verbs of doubting generally.  
*infesto*, 'baleful.'
7. *ad desiderium*, 'feeling a longing regret for their mates left behind.' 'ad' = 'on occasion of.' cf. *ad famam obsidionis dilectus haberi coeptus erat* (9, 7, 7).  
*clāva*, 'club,' 'clavus' = (1) nail or peg, (2) rudder, (3) purple stripe on tunic.  
*fīdem*, 'trusty aid.'  
*mortem occubuit*. The MSS. read *morte* here, and in Cic. Tusc. D. 1, 42, 102. The omission of final 'm' is such a common mistake of copyists, that all editors correct these two passages.
8. *Carmentae*, connected with, *canere*, *carmen*. She was worshipped at the foot of the Capitoline hill as a goddess of birth. She is no doubt a prophesying goddess that attended on birth and foretold the fate of the child. Compare the Moirai and Parcae attending Eileithyia.
10. *interpres deum*, = 'one who speaks for the gods.'

8. 1. *in populi unius corpus*, 'into a political organism.'  
*legibus . . . . jura*, 'specific laws' . . . . 'rules of right.' 'Jus' is the most general word for 'law,' whether natural, human, or divine, whether written or unwritten: 'Lex' is a specific legal enactment.
2. *ita sancta . . . . si*, 'only held sacred on condition that.'
3. *apparitores*, general name for the servants of the magistrates.  
*hoc genus*, adverbial acc. cf. the use of 'id aetatis.' *Quum se id aetatis sollicitassent* (10, 24, 6), 'virile secus,' etc.  
*creato rege*, It was only in times of danger that the twelve Etrurian towns used to elect a supreme king. Frey compares the Anglo-Saxon Bredwalda,
4. *in spem . . . . ad id*. Seeley says 'in' implies reference to an indefinite 'ad' to a definite standard.
5. *concienda*, cf. note to 5, 6.  
*locum . . . . est*, 'at the place which people descending the hill find now enclosed, and called 'between the two groves.' What hill, and on which side, Livy supposes known to all his readers,
6. *ad coeptam magnitudinem*, 'to the city's now begun greatness.'
7. *patres . . . . appellati*. This is probably a mistake. The patricians were the members of ancient clans who claimed political privileges on the ground of being the original citizens. But at the same time they perhaps took their name from the senate, as being the assembly that represented them best; and the senate had been called 'patres' as being either heads of families or elderly men. (*Senatus yepovoria*.) (Seeley.)
9. 1. *quippe quibus*, antecedent not expressed.
3. *urbes quoque*, oratio obliqua, 'saying that cities,' &c.
4. *proinde ne gravarentur*, 'finally that they should not feel any difficulty.'
5. *id enim demum*, 'for nothing short of that.'
6. *ad vim spectare*, 'to incline towards violent measures,'  
*ex industria*, more usually *de industria*.
- Consualia*, Consus was God of the under-earth or agriculture; he was honoured at the times of sowing and reaping. His name is derived from the same root as *sero*, *consero* = *Deus Consivius Ops-Consivia*, god of crops and also of marriage (hence the connection with the story of the Rape of the Sabines). His festival had horse-races; hence he was connected with Poseidon Hippios.  
*clarum exspectatamque*, 'widely known and looked forward to.'
8. *Oaeninenes . . . . Antemnae*, 'The inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumina, and Antemnae,'  
*frequentem tectis*, 'built closely over with houses.'
11. *magna pars . . . . raptae*, 'the greater part were carried off at hazard, each by the man into whose hand she fell.' The story of the rape of the Sabines was invented to explain Roman customs of marriage, especially the forcible abduction of the bride, a custom common to most rude tribes.



12. *Talassii*. This story is to account for the cry of Talassio at Roman marriages. Its true meaning is unknown.

13. *violati hospitii foedus*, hypallage (cf. 1, 4), for *violatum h.f.*  
*per fas ac fidem decepti*, 'deceived by trust on the holy and pledged rights of hospitality.'

14. *qui...negassent*, 'because they had refused,' causal use of subjunctive with 'qui.'

*humano generi*, 'to human nature.'

15. *usuras*, *utor* = 'to be treated by a person,' not 'to treat.'  
*suam vicem*, Mr. Roby (§ 1 102) says this sort of adverbial *acc.* is that of part concerned. cf. *partim*.

10. 1. *admodum*, 'pretty well.'

3. *Ne Crustumini quidem*, 'but even the inhabitants of Crustumeria did not, &c.'

*nomen*, 'tribe.' Ancient village communities either were or supposed themselves to be the descendants of a single progenitor.

4. *Regem*. Acron.

5. *tum factorum ostentator haud minor*, 'quite as little inclined to hide them.'

*ferculo*, 'frame.' It was also called 'feretrum.' Hence the epithet given to Iuppiter, of course derived from the root *fero*, to bear. The action represented here is a copy of the old 'tropaeum,' in which the arms of the vanquished were placed on the trunk of a tree, which was fixed on an elevation. Verg. *Aeneid*, 11, 5, is the locus classicus on the subject.

*quercum*, the oak in Italy, as at Dodona, was the most sacred of trees.

6. *Romulus rex regia*. Alliteration frequent in solemn formulae. cf. 16, 3. Note also how the Latins put closely similar words together. cf. 9, 4.

*dedico*, vow. The proper dedication of course could not be till after the temple was built.

*me auctorem*, 'my example.'

7. *inter tot annos*, 'during so many years.' 'Inter decem annos = sometime during ten years; 'intra decem annos = in less than ten years. cf. 43, 4, for 'intra.'

*Bina*. Cossus killed Tolumnius, king of Veii, 437 B.C. (4, 19, 5); and Marcellus killed Virodomarus, B.C. 222.

11. 1. *per occasionem ac solitudinem*, 'seizing the opportunity of its deserted condition.'

*legio*, 'army.' It originally consisted of 3000 men, 1000 from each tribe. Hence 'miles' = 'thousand-goer.'

2. *Clamore, αὐτοβοῶν*.

*ovantem*, 'exulting;' it does not here designate the lesser triumph ovatio.

*Hersilia*, according to the legends, the only matron among the Sabine women that were carried off. She was a goddess of marriage,

under the name of Hora or Horta, the wife of Quirinus, and so when Romulus was identified with Quirinus, Hersilia became Romulus's wife. Quirinus is really but another name for Mars.

4. *Coloniae missae*. When the Romans conquered a canton, they generally razed its stronghold and transferred its market and seat of justice to Rome. The inhabitants were mostly settled in the open hamlets of their old domain, but in some cases were partly compelled to migrate to Rome. One third of the land of the conquered was assigned to the colonists, who formed a sort of garrison in the country. It was solely for political strength that the Romans founded their colonies; and so they did not let the colonists acquire any local citizen rights, but merely allowed them to retain, if they possessed them, the citizen right of Rome. From the very beginning Rome carried out the principle of centralization, and so never let her colonies get independent of her, as did the Greeks.

*qui . . . darent*, 'to give in their names,' generic subjunctive, as in 'sunt qui faciant,' = there are people of the kind who do it.

5. *Cupiditatem*, 'passion for vengeance.'

*nec ostenderunt . . . intulerunt*, 'no display of war before carrying it forward.'

7. *Obrutam armis necavere*, 'killed her by overwhelming her with shields. For 'arma' cf. 25, 4, *inrepuere arma*. For this translation of the past participle, cf. 7, 11, *ara condita*, by building the altar.

8. *Gemmatosque magna specie*, 'most beautifully jewelled.'

9. *ex pacto tradendi*, 'according to their agreement of giving what they had on their left arms.'

*fraude* = fraudulenter, cf. 6, 2.

*sua . . . mercede*, 'was herself (ipsam) killed by the reward she demanded.' Preller (702 note) thinks Tarpeia was a euhemerized goddess (cf. 5, 1). She was certainly worshipped in later times. Near her temple was a gate always kept open for some unknown cause—hence the legend.

12. 1. *Tamen*, 'however this may be.'

*in adversum*, supply 'montem' = 'up the hill,' cf. 7, 23, 9.

2. *Principes*, 'advancing before the rest.'

*ab*, 'on the side of.' cf. *Diu phalanx a fronte a lateribus ab tergo caesa* est. 44, 42, 4.

*animo atque audacia* = 'with headstrong courage.'

3. *fusaque est*. Most editors put the full stop after 'Palatii.'

6. *Statori Iovi*. The adjective put first for emphasis. cf. *Longa Alba*, 3, 3:

8. *spatium*, attracted into the relative clause for *spatio*:

9: *ferocissimorum*, 'fiery.'

10. *avertat*, cf. 6, 3, 'diverted for a moment.' The mind of the historian is fixed on Mettius's escape, and the renewal of the battle.

*Et ille quidem . . . superior*, 'and though, as his countrymen beckon and call to him, by reason of encouragement from so many, he gains additional energy and escapes; and the Romans and Sabines renew the battle in the valley between the two mountains, yet the Romans were getting the better of it.' This story is aitiological—to explain the name of

the Lacus Curtius given to an enclosed spot in the Forum. There is another explanation that Marcus Curtius leaped into a chasm that opened in the Forum, for thus alone the soothsayers said could it be closed. It was really a spot struck by lightning, and enclosed by Curtius, one of the consuls, in 445 B.C.

13. 1. *quarum ex injuria*, 'from the violence of whom.'  
*passis*, part. pass., from 'pando.'  
*malis*, 'horrors they witnessed.'  
*dirimere*, historical infinitive.  
*iras* = iratos.
2. *parricidio*, general word for murder of a relation.  
*partus* . . . *progeniem*, 'their descendants, grandchildren and children that were sprung from them.' 'progeniem,' is in apposition to 'partus suos,' and 'nepotum,' and 'liberum,' are genitives of definition, 'offspring consisting of grandchildren.' The children alluded to are those soon to be born of the Sabine women, therefore grandchildren of the Sabines and children of the Romans.
5. *Quirites*, derived really from *quiris* = a spear. The termination as in miles, &c., is perhaps from 'eo' to go. Others connect it with an Oscan word meaning 'noble,' 'dignified.'  
*equus Curtium*. The usual reading is 'equum Curtius.'  
*vado*, 'shallow part.' cf. note to 12, 10.
6. *curias*. The 'curia' was the only member of the community that really fulfilled important functions in the primitive constitution. It was a real corporate unit, the members of which assembled at least for holding common festivals. Each was under the charge of a special warden (*curio*), and had a priest of its own (*flamen curialis*); levies and valuations took place according to curies, and the citizens met in judgment by curies, and voted by curies. Why their origin was traced to the Sabine women is perhaps owing to one of the curiae being called 'Raptæ,' and the effect of the list of feminine names being to suggest some connexion with women.
7. *quæ* . . . *darent*, 'who were to give,' generic subj.
8. *Ramnenses*. The three tribes Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, are found united as far back as we can trace Roman History.
14. 2. *Igitur* = itaque, 'accordingly.'  
*illorum*, objective genitive, 'due to them.'  
*Lavinii*, 'at Lavinium.' The Romans performed an annual sacrifice to the Penates at Lavinium.
3. *ob infidam regis societatem*, 'because partners in royal power are faithless.'  
*haud injuria*. Plutarch relates that a plague and other calamities befel the Romans, which did not abate till the murderers of the ambassadors and Tattius were given up to punishment. Mommsen sees in the whole story a myth of the abolition of private vengeance for homicide, (I. 158 note).
4. *nimis vicinas* . . . *rati*, 'thinking that a power that was too close beside them was gaining strength.'  
*occupant, φθάνονσι*, 'hasten to make war first.'

6. *mille passuum*. It is very rare to find 'mille' with the genitive. The accusative is the most usual case to express the distance at which an event takes place, but the ablative is sometimes used.

7. *locis* . . . *obscuris*. This is the MSS. reading, and Madvig defends it. 'In hidden spots here and there amid the thickly planted brushwood.' cf. *circa Campaniam*, 'here and there about Campania' (9, 23, 2): 'obsitus,' is generally applied to the place, not to the thing planted. The usual correction is to omit 'obsita.'

*id quod quaerebat*, refers to 'hostem excivit.'

*tumultuoso* = noisy.

*eadem*, 'also.'

8. *impulsa Romana acie*, 'having broken through the Roman line.'  
*instandi sequendique*, 'of pressing on in pursuit.'

9. *transversam*, 'on the flank.'

*multipli terrore*, 'various alarms.'

*visi erant*. The reading is very uncertain, some read 'equites erant,' others 'equis ierant.'

10. *multoque* . . . *repetebant*, 'and in a much more disorderly manner, for it was a real flight now, they rush back to the town, who had been a little before pursuing those, who were feigning flight.' 'Vera fuga,' is the ablative, 'simulantes,' is the accusative referring to the Romans.

11. *fores portarum obticerentur*, 'before the gates could be barricaded,' 'fores,' refers to the two folds of the gate.

15. 1. *irritati*, supply sunt.

*iusti*. cf. 4, 4.

2. *portantes rediere*, 'carried back,'

*ultima*, 'decisive.' The dative is governed by 'intentus,' for 'instructus' would take ad.

5. *adversa pugna*, regular expression for 'defeat.'

*oratores*, old Latin word for 'ambassadors.' cf. Verg. *Æn.* 7, 153.

6. *quorum* . . . *fuit*, 'and none of them was out of harmony with the belief entertained of his divine parentage, or of his deification after death.' 'fidei' is dative.

8. *Celeres*, from same root as *κέλης, βουκόλος* = to drive on. A body-guard is given to Romulus because late tradition represented him as a tyrant, at which Livy hints in the words 'multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus.'

16. 1. *immortalibus*, 'godlike,' or 'deserving immortality' (Weiss). Some editors read 'mortalibus,' but the other seems suggested by 15, 6.

*quum ad exercitum* . . . *haberet*. 'When for the purpose of reviewing the army, he had a mustering of it in the campus at the Goat's Pool.' The whole people was the 'exercitus' in the time of Romulus, though Livy sometimes (e.g. 15, 4), speaks differently. 'Contio,' for 'conventio.' This whole story about the disappearance of Romulus, arose from a desire to explain the old lustration ceremony called Poplifugia, and the feast of Iuno Caprotina held on the Nones of Quintilis. When the impurity of the people had been symbolically transferred to the victim, the people by a flight formally shook themselves clear of the pollution. cf. the regifugium

of the rex sacrificulus. The Latin heroes, as has been mentioned before, used simply to disappear; the *apotheosis* of Romulus betokens a Greek origin, and Schwegler thinks it is due to Ennius. (cf. Mommsen R.H.I.481, compared with 174, Eng. Trans.)

*fragore tonitribusque*, 'crashing of the heavens, and claps of thunder.'

5. *Et consilio . . . fides*, 'and confirmation is said to have been given to this account by the clever device of a single man.'

6. *perfusus . . . adstissem*, 'When filled with awe, I stood wrapt in veneration.'

8. *fidei*, some read 'fides' = 'confidence.'

17. 1. *factionibus*, 'in parties,' abl. modi.

2. *Oriundi*, some words with the gerundive termination have the meaning of present participles, e.g. *volvendis mensibus* (Virg. *Æneid*, 1, 269).

• *ab sua parte non erat regnatum*, 'there had not been any reigning on their side.'

*in societate aequam*, 'though the alliance was on equal terms.'

3. *In variis . . . volebant*, 'amidst the various political views, all wished that there should be a king.' *lit.* 'that it should be ruled,' *regnare* being intransitive.

4. *circa civitatum*, 'the surrounding states.' cf. 59, 9, *circa populorum*.  
*in animum inducebat*, 'could make us his mind.'

5. *rem*, 'the administration.' The 100 Senators (Livy ignores the addition of the 100 Sabines to the Senate, though he implies it by 2, 1, 10), divided themselves into ten divisions. Out of each division, one individual was taken; the ten thus chosen held the rule for fifty days. At the expiration of that time, another ten were similarly chosen and so on. Each member of the ruling ten in turn had the insignia of royalty for five days: so that in 500 days all would have held rule. Another explanation is, that from each division of ten, one Senator was appointed, and this board of ten, with the title of *Interreges*, ruled the State, each of them holding in succession the regal power and its insignia for five days; and if no king was appointed at the expiration of fifty days, the rotation began anew.

6. *fuit*. The perfect denotes the length of this particular interregnum; the previous imperfects denote the uniform practice during an interregnum.

*ab re*, 'from the nature of the event.'

8. *ea moveri*, 'such feelings were stirred up.'

9. *auctores fierent*, 'ratify.'

*in incertum . . . fiunt*, explanatory of '*vi adempta*;' 'while the result of the assembly is still uncertain, the senators give their ratification.' By the Publilian law, 339 B.C., it was decreed, 'ut legum quae comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.'

11. *sciscerent iuberentque*. Quite strictly, 'sciscere,' was applied to the comitia tributa, 'jubere' to the comitia centuriata. cf. Cic. Flac. 7, 15, quae scisceret plebes aut quae populus juberet. Here Livy uses both words in the general sense of deciding, without any further idea.

18. 1. *Numae*, same root as *νέμω*, *νόμος* *numerus* = the apportioner.  
*consultissimus*, 'most learned in,' with genit. cf. *iuriaconsultus*.
2. *Auctorem*, 'instructor.'  
*Pythagoram*, a Greek philosopher of Samos; lived from about 580 to 500 B.C. Founded societies in some of the towns of Magna Graecia, the chief one at Croton. The pupils were instructed in philosophy, mathematics and music. They were all such violent partisans of the aristocracy, that they were finally overthrown by a democratic rising.  
*Metapontum, Heracleamque, et Crotona*, Towns on the west side of the gulf of Tarentum. Crotona is the Greek accusative.  
*aemulantium studia*, 'eager for knowledge.'
3. *qua fama in Sabinos* = 'by what Sabine reputation.' cf. *fama* in *vilgus* = popular reputation. The MSS. read *quae*.  
*unus*, refers to Numa. The pupils used to go to their teacher.
4. *Suo pte... fuit*, 'Accordingly I am more inclined to think that he naturally had a mind finely organized with virtuous instincts, and trained not so much in foreign ways as in the rough and austere education of the old Sabines, than which race none was in old times more free from evil.' *genere* for 'gente,' cf. 5, 2. Seeley wishes to translate it 'type.'
6. *augure*, In 4, 4, 2, we hear that augurs were first created by Numa. That, however, refers to the regular college of augurs.  
*ergo* = *causa*, 'an account of,' very rare, cf. 25, 12, 15.  
*deductus* = 'solemnly conducted,' whether up or down.  
*lapide*, the auguraculum on the north-east of the Capitoline hill.  
*versus*, participle.
7. *ad laevam*. He looked east. The augur generally drew two lines, one from east to west called 'decumanus,' another from north to south called 'cardo,' (Livy does not mention this latter). He then mentally fixed on some point in the eastern horizon as the division between north and south.
9. *uti*, 'Grant that,' cf. *Iuppiter ut pereat positum rubigine telum*, *Hor. Sat. 2, 1, 43*. Compare the common word 'utinam.'  
*acclarassis* = *acclaraveris*, cf. *ausim* *Pref. § 1*.  
*declaratus*, 'manifested as king' by the gods.  
*templo*, cf. 6, 4.
19. 1. *iure... moribus*, 'rules of life, a legal and moral code.'
2. *quippe... animos*, parenthetical: a thought of Numa's: cf. 2, 45, 10. *Accidunt insuper hostes ferocius multo . . . quippe impune se insultaturos*.  
*Ianum*, the Italian god of opening. He looked like a door both ways. His name is derived either from the root of 'eo,' to go, or from the root *div*, to shine or be bright, which appears in 'divus' and 'dies.' In the latter case, *Ianus* stands for *Dianus*, the masculine form of *Diana*.
3. *T. Manlio consule*, B.C. 235.  
*post bellum Actiacum*, B.C. 29.
4. *luxuriarent*, 'run riot,' *animi* = 'passions.'
5. *commento miraculi*, 'fabrication of something supernatural.'

5. *Egeria*, one of the *Camēnae*, prophetic fountain-goddesses. She was supposed to help the delivery of women (*egerere*).  
*sacerdotes suos*, 'the priests they desired.'

6. *duodecim*, Romulus's year began in March, and had only ten months. Translate the subsequent sentence: 'and because the moon does not complete full thirty days each month, and even if it did, some days would be wanting to the entire year as traversed through the solar orbit, he so arranged it by introducing intercalary months,' &c. Each lunar month consists of 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes. Each solar year consists of 365 days odd. So even if the lunar month were 30 days, twelve such months would leave 5 days odd wanting '*solido anno*.' (For the use of *solidus*, cf. *Hor. Od.* 1, 1, 20). Every second year an intercalary month, of about 22 days, was added at the end of February, called *Mercedonius*, 'labour month.'

*metam solis*, the position of the sun.

7. *nefastos dies*, cf. *Ovid Fasti* 1, 47, '*Ille nefastus erit per quem tria verba silentur, Fastus erit per quem lege licebit agi.*' The three words are 'do,' 'dico,' 'addico,' used by the Praetor in dispensing justice.

20. 1. *Dialem flaminem*, 'the flamen of Iuppiter.' 'Flamen' means 'the kindler' from the root *φλεν*, *flagrare flamma*.

2. *sacra regiae vicis* 'religious part of the king's duty.

*assiduum* 'resident,' constantly present, cf. § 3.

*veste*, toga praetexta.

*curuli*, = the chariot-seat from '*currus*.' The king alone was entitled to ride in a chariot within the city, and when there was no elevated tribunal, he rode to the comitium in his chariot, and gave judgment from its seat (Mommsen, *R.H.*, 1, 157 note).

3. *oriundum*, cf. note to 17, 2.

*aliisque*, 'and besides.' cf. 4, 41, 8. *Eo missa plaustra iumentaue alia*.

4. *Marti Gradivo*. Mars was the great Italian deity. He was 'the killing god, pre-eminently regarded as the decisive champion of the burgesses, hurling the spear, protecting the flock and overthrowing the foe' (Mommsen). *Grādivus*, a *gradiendo* in bello ultro citroque says Paullus. The long quantity (*Grādivus* only in one place in *Ovid M.* 6, 427), is against this derivation. '*Salii*,' of course from '*salire*,' = to leap.

*tunicaeque pictae insigne*, 'as a distinctive dress, an embroidered tunic,' Genit. of definition.

*caelestia*, 'that fell from heaven.' One '*ancile*' did fall from heaven, and Numa had eleven other shields made exactly like this one, to diminish the chance of its being stolen.

*ancilia*. The name is derived from the shape, viz., curved inwards on each side. The '*an*' is connected with *ἀνφίς*, compare *annulus*: and *cilia* with *caedere*, compare *coelum* a chisel. Therefore '*ancile*' = 'cut on both sides.'

*carmina*, 'called axamenta.'

*tripudiis sollemnique saltatu*, 'with solemn three-time dancing,' tripudium from root *pad*, to tread.

5. *Pontificem*, sc. maximum. '*Pons*,' connected with *πάρος*, was an old word for 'a road.'

6. *scitis*, usually only of the decrees of the people. cf. 17, 11.

7. *sed iusta . . . curarentur*, 'but that the same pontifex should declare the proper offices for funerals and the appeasing of the manes, and what phenomena sent by lightning or otherwise were to be regarded and attended to as prodigies.' 'Manes' were the departed souls of mortal men, the 'good' ones, 'manus' being an old word meaning 'good.' of 'immanis.'

*quae*, sc. prodigia.

21. 1. *Ad haec*, 'to the examination of and attention to these matters.'

*animi aliquid agendo occupati*, refers to 19, 4.

*ut fides . . . regerent*. The usual reading is 'proximo,' instead of 'pro obnoxio,' that pledged word and oath ruled the State, fear of the laws and punishments being quite secondary.' For this use of 'proximo,' Weiss compares 'tu secundo Caesare regnes' (Hor. Od. 1, 12, 51). Madvig objects that if *fides et ius iurandum* are supreme, the fear of the laws will be entirely absent, and reads with great ingenuity 'pro obnoxio' = instead of slavish fear of the laws, &c., and with still greater cleverness conjectures 'pro anxio.' It seems to me that *fides* and *ius iurandum* might be said to be predominant without being universal; and if they were predominant in Numa's time, it would betoken a very high degree of religious feeling (*pietas*).

3. *fons*, 'stream.'

4. *soli*, usually omitted, it being supposed to have arisen from *sollemne*. Seeley, comparing a passage in Dionysius relating the same event, proposes 'solus.'

*arcuato*, 'with a bow-like covering.'

*rem divinam*, 'sacrifice.'

5. *Argeos*. The oldest divisions of the town, twenty-four in number, had each a chapel. These chapels were called *Argea* or *Argei*, because in them it was supposed some Argives who accompanied Hercules were buried. They were central points of ancient districts which were afterwards superseded by the city tribes.

6. *temperata*, 'well-organised.'

22. 1. *Hostilii*. cf. 12, 2.

*populus iussit*. The people nominate Tullus; they allowed the senate to nominate Numa, 17, 11.

2. *aetas viresque*, 'vigour of his years.'

*stimulabat*. Note the imperfects, 'kept goading him on,' 'he kept seeking.'

4. *pie*, 'with good conscience.'

5. *socordius*, positive 'socorditer.'

*convivium celebrant*, 'they all come to the banquet.'

*tantisper*, 'all the time.'

6. *se invito quicquam . . . dicturos*, 'that they would not wish to say a word,' the object clause governed by 'purgando.'

*ni*, 'si non' would be more usual. cf. 32, 9.



7. *deos facere testes, uter*, 'asks the gods to be witness, and declare which,' &c., 'uter,' is relative.

*expetant* (1) trans, 'that they (the gods) may pour on him, &c.' (2) intrans, 'that all the destruction of this war may fall on him.' cf. *Plant. Amph.* 1, 2, 32; *nam deum non par videtur facere delictum suum suamque culpam expetere in mortalem ut sinat.*

23. 4. *Cluilius*. Old tradition gave Mettius as the commander of the expedition; but Cluilius was discovered in order to explain the Fossa Cluilia.

6. *tametsi vana . . . rebatur*. The MSS. read, 'tamen si vana afferebantur.'

7. *regem . . . audisse*, supply, 'dicentem.' cf. 4, 20, 7.

*ferre*. Livy prefers the acc. with inf. after 'dubito,' to 'quin,' with subjunctive.

8. *interpretor*, 'decide,' '*deliberatio*' = matter for consideration.  
*hoc*, abl.

9. *spectaculo*. 'a sight to gaze at.' cf. *Tac. G.* 33, *nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere*.

*quoniam . . . imus*, 'since not content with assured independence, we are going to risk the chance of being lords or slaves.'

10. *quaerentibus* (1) dative = 'a' with ablative. cf. 8, 6, 4, *exclamat ita ut populo patribusque audita vox pariter sit*; also 9, 36, 1. (2) abl. abs., supplying 'rationem.'

*ratio*, 'plan,' *materiam* = 'means.'

24. 1. *trigemini*, derived from tres and the root gen, with Italian termination minus, such as appears in *alumnus*, *terminus*.

*nobilior*, 'more famous.'

*error*, 'uncertainty.' The story was invented to explain the 'pila Horatia' (26, 10), and 'sororium tigillum' (26, 13); but just beside them was an altar to Ianus Curvatus. Hence the error.

2. *unde*, 'on whichever side.' cf. the use of 'ab' = on the side of.

3. *cuius* = *utrius*. cf. 6, 4.

*cum bona pace*, 'fairly and peacefully.'

4. *Fetialis*. The *fetiales* had exactly the same position with reference to international, as the pontifices had with reference to religious law, but like the latter were entitled only to point out the law, not to administer it, (Mommson). '*Ius fetiale*' = 'international law.' The derivation is uncertain; perhaps, as Weidner suggests, *fari*, 'to speak,' for '*fetialis*,' seems an adjective. cf. 9, 10, 10, *legatum fetialem*. The usual derivation connects it with '*fides*,' '*foedus*.'

*patre patrato*, 'the elected father,' literally 'made,' so called because he was elected president for the special business, not as Livy implies 'to make the treaty,' (§ 6).

*sagmina*, 'vervain,' perhaps connected with *sacer*. The one of the company who carried this clod of earth was called technically '*verbenarius*,' here Livy calls him simply *fetialis*.

*puram*. Either omitted as having crept in from '*puram*' in the next line, or to be changed into '*pura*.'

5. *vasa*, 'appurtenances.' The *verbena*, *silex*, &c.  
*sine fraude mea populi que Romani*, 'without damage to myself or to the Roman people,' objective genitive. This use of 'fraus' is common in laws and treaties.

6. *longo effata carmine*, 'recited in a long formula.'

7. *populus Albanus*, Nom. after vocative. cf. Verg. *Æ.* 1, 664.  
*tabulis cerave*, an expression much used in Wills. By 'tabulae' Livy seems to mean tablets of stone or metal; but more generally 'tabulae,' or 'tabellae,' signify waxen tablets, thin pieces of wood, usually oblong, covered with wax. (Dict. Antiq.)  
*utique* = et uti.

8. *defexit* = *defecerit*. This old form of the perf. subj. is generally confined to old formulae.

*illo die Iuppiter*. The MSS. *ille dies Iuppiter*. *Diespiter* is, however, the usual form of the god who punishes broken oaths; cf. Hor. Od. 1, 34, 5. *Saepe Diespiter Neglectus incesto addidit integrum*. Hence, Seeley reads, 'illo die Diespiter.' This is very likely; for the 'die' might have been omitted by the copyist on account of its resemblance to the *dies* following (a style of error called lipography); the 'dies' would tend to make him change *illo* into *ille*, and 'piter,' to make a word out of it, would be altered to *Iuppiter*. Indeed *Iup.* appears crossed out in M.

9. *saxo silice*, 'flint stone.' It was a symbol of *Iuppiter* himself, and called *Iuppiter lapis*. Compare *Iovem lapidem iurare*.

25. 2. *quippe* = *nam*.

*suspensi*, 'nervous,' *μετέωποι*.

*animo intenduntur*. The MSS. give *incenduntur*, which might be used with *odio*, *ira*, or the like, but not with 'animo.' But even 'animo intenduntur' is strange. We can hardly alter to 'animi,' for that would require 'intenti sunt.' So, in the last edition of Weiss, we have 'animos intendunt.' cf. Pref. § 9, also 22, 33, 1.

3. *infestisque armis*, 'with presented arms.'  
*animos*, 'courage.'

4. *arma*, 'shields' § 12.

*perstringit*, 'thrills.'

*torpebat vox spiritusque*, 'they were still and breathless.'

5. *agitatioque anceps*, 'movement from both sides.'

6. *exanimis vicem unius*, almost dead with anxiety on behalf of the one.' The MSS. give 'vice;' but it is very usual to find final *m* omitted in the archetype. It is the acc. of the part concerned.

7. *ferox*, 'confident.'

*ut segregaret pugnam eorum*, 'that he might have the contest with them at intervals.'

9. *qualis esse*. The MSS. do not read *esse*. Madvig supplies *esse*, asserting that you can say, *exoritur clamor qualis faventium solet* (*exoriri*), but *inoadjuvo clamore qualis faventium solet*. He adds 'esse' also in 2, 34, 2.

*faventium*, 'partisans when surprised' (*ex insperato*), like spectators at the circus-games,

10. *nec procul, nec = non.* cf. *necopinato* (57, 7); *necdum* (4, 13, 5); *nec recte dicere* in Plautus frequently.

12. *iugulo*, poetical for *in iugulo*. cf. 57, 11. This story of the fight between the *Horatii* and *Curatii* has, Seeley thinks, more the look of one of Niebuhr's ballads than anything in the *Regal History*.

26. 2. *trigemina*, 'of the three brothers'; 'soror virgo' = 'young sister.'

3. *feroci iuveni*, 'the triumphant soldier.'

*verbis increpans*, 'with indignant reproach.'

5. *meritum facto obstabat*, 'his service was a set off to the crime.'

*rex*. The king often used to appoint commissioners, *duoviri perduellionis* (by many supposed to be the same as the *quaestores parricidii*), to try cases of crime against the State. Here he does so to avoid unpopularity. The accused might appeal to the people from the sentence of these commissioners, but only if the king allowed him. The king could not grant a pardon; the people alone could do that. The appeal being granted, the case became one between the commissioners and the prisoner, the people acting as judge. cf. *provocatione certato: si vincent*.

*ingrati ad vulgus*, goes closely together. cf. 9, 16.

*perduellionem*, lit. 'a state of war.' It is hard to see why *Horatius* was not accused of 'parricidium.'

6. *carminis*, 'formula.'

*perduellionem iudicent*. This means to pass sentence if guilty. But *Livy* thinks (§ 71), that it compelled the *duoviri* to condemn: so did *Cicero* (*Rab.* 4, 12).

*provocatione certato* 'let him (the accused) plead his cause on the appeal.'

*obnubito*, sc. *lictor*.

*infelici arbori*, locative. The prisoner was hung up by the arms, and scourged to death.

9. *patrio iure*. The 'patria potestas' extended to life and death over the children.

10. *Pila Horatia*. *Pila* = either 'pillar,' or 'weapons placed thereon.' In § 11 it is the latter.

*sub furca*. It was a frame of wood of the shape of the letter A put on the prisoner's shoulders. His hands were tied thereto.

*arборе*, so the MSS., not *arbori*, as above, § 6.

*foeditate supplicii*, 'disgraceful punishment.'

12. *parem*, 'unaltered.'

27. 1. *Nec*, 'but not.'  
*vanum ingenium*, 'weak character.'

2. *ex edicto*, 'with a formal declaration:' 'edicere' is not used elsewhere in this sense, 'indicere' is, hence *Duker* conjectures 'ex indicto,' an expression, however, which we do not exactly find elsewhere; yet cf. 28, 19, 5; 33, 28, 4.

3. *pacto transitionis*, 'under agreement of desertion on the part of the *Albans*,' 'pacto,' subst.

4. *ab Alba*, with names of towns, in answer to the question whence, Livy nearly always (always in the first decad) uses 'ab.' With names of countries he uses 'ex.'

*confluentes, i.e., Tiberim et Anienem.*

5. *et*, if we retain this, it will mean that they held the same position in the battle as they did crossing the river.

6. *erigit*, 'leads up the hill.'

*inclinare*, infin. because *consilium erat* = *constituerat*; otherwise we should expect the gerund.

7. *citato equo*, 'galloping up.'

*re trepida*, 'crisis.'

*salios*, the Quirinales, different from the Palatini, 20, 4. They were also called Collini. The real fact is, these Salii Quirinales or Collini were the priests of Mars belonging to the community on the Quirinal, and when it joined the community in the Palatine, and formed one state, its priests were still retained.

8. *circumducti*, 'making a detour.'

9. *Id factum*, 'the performance of this command.'

*coloni additi*. A Roman colony had been sent to Fidenae; and the earlier Etruscan inhabitants had been allowed to enrol themselves as colonists also, cf. 8, 14, 8. Antium nova colonia missa cum eo ut Antiatibus permitteretur si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent.

10. *obiectum ab tergo*, 'which stopped them on the rear.'

11. *atrocior*, 'fiercer.'

28. 2. *ut assolet*, usual in short parenthetical clauses.

5. *ut nec....animus*, 'that by remaining unaware that you were deserted, you might not have your mind diverted from the battle.'

*fuga*, 'desire to fly.'

6. *insigne iam documentum*, 'a signally instructive lesson.' 'iam' is slightly out of place; it goes with 'dedit.'

7. *urbem*, local; 'remp.' political union.

8. *in variis.....cogente*, 'though with very various feelings, yet all under the compulsion of fear.'

9. *passim*, 'in two;' rarely of only two sides.

10. *distentum*, 'at full length.'

11. *exempli....humanarum*, 'of a kind that showed little regard for humanity.'

29. 2. *ille*, refers no doubt to 'qualis,' 'that tumult and panic which.'

*omnia....miscet*, 'spreads universal confusion.'

3. *prae*, always of a preventive cause.

*obliti*, Madvig wishes to omit this word, as 'to forget what to leave behind' is, he says, an impossible expression. Why might it not be to forget what exact things they had before determined to leave behind and what to take? Madvig will govern 'quid relinquerent' by 'deficiente consilio.'

3. *deficiente....alios*, 'with failing resolution and appeals one to another.'

*errabundi*, 'vaguely,' 'aimlessly.'

*ultimum illud*, 'then for the last time.'

4. *quibus....elatis* = *iis elatis quae quisque poterat efferre*. 'Quibus' attracted into the case of the antecedent, only allowable when the relative is dependent on the same verb (understood) as the antecedent is.

5. *integrabat*, 'kept renewing.'

6. *urbe*, The MSS. read '*urbem*' here, and in many other passages in Livy, we find the accusative after *egredi excedere* and such like verbs. Madvig in every case alters to the ablative, because—(1) with acc. *egredi* would signify *transgredi* (e.g. *fines, modum, &c.*); (2) 'm' final is frequently added as well as omitted by the copyists; and we never find the accusative after *egredi* except when the accusative ends in 'm,' e.g., we never find *egredi castra, portas, &c.*

*quadringentorum*, Alba was founded 300 years before Rome, and Rome was now 100 years old.

*quibus*, 'during which.' The accusative is rather commoner; yet cf. 6, 40, 7, *novem annis quibus regnant*. Roby, § 1,184.

*Templis*, dat. cf. 5, 7, 8. The abl. with 'ab' is also used.

30. 2. *templum*, properly a place cut off (τέμνω). Here a special meeting place.

3. *ordinum*, the other ranks besides the senatorius ordo. Livy is perhaps forgetting that the 'equester ordo' originated with Caius Gracchus.

*turmas*, a *turma* consisted of 30 men.

4. *Hac fiducia virium*. *Hac fiducia* = confidence on this, cf. 58, 4, quo terrore, 'by dread of which.' Then '*hac fiducia virium*' (abl. of motive), is by confidence on his strength that arose from all these measures. 'Thus confident of his strength.'

5. *Feroniae*, one of the names of Venus. She was goddess of spring, of groves, and of fountains. She was the special protector of freedmen, but why it is hard to say. The market referred to here was at *Trebula Mutuesca*. *Feronia* was also honoured at *Soracte*, and had a fountain and grove near *Tarracina* (Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 24). (Preller 375 sqq.)

*servos suos*. The MSS. have not '*servos*.' It was by no means the custom for citizens of one state to fly to another, or, if they did, for their original state to demand them back. But the non-restitution of runaway slaves was a most constant source of quarrel between neighbouring states. cf. 32, 7. Hence Madvig conjectured that '*servos*' might easily have dropped out before '*suos*' (lipography).

7. *bellorum*, 'that the wars had caused.'

*pacta....fides*, 'the pledge made with Romulus to keep peace.' We must suppose after the war with Tullus, that a treaty was made on the same terms as that made with Romulus.

8. *occupat*, g. 14, 4, 'is the first to cross into.' φθάσει διαβαίνων.

9. *aucto*, 'which had been lately increased.' Not abl. abs.

10. *nec....potuit*, 'and afterwards they could not stand to fight, nor yet dare to fly without great loss.'

31. 1. *lapidibus*, ablative of the same nature as that which occurs with verbs signifying plenty.  
 2. *grandinem glomeratam*, 'hailstones all massed together.'  
*caelo*, for 'de caelo,' a poetical usage.  
 3. *cacuminis*, the Mons Albanus.  
*ut*, understand 'monentem,' and compare 23, 7.  
 4. *Romanis*, dat. or abl., cf. 23, 10; also Hor. Epp. i. 19, 3, *carmina* quae scribuntur aquae potioribus.  
*ab*, 'in consequence of,' cf. 1, 4, *ab simili clade*.  
*haruspicum*, Etruscan soothsayers.  
 5. *pigritia militandi*, 'reluctance for military service.'  
*iuvenum*, 'soldiers.'  
 6. *religionibusque*, 'religious ceremonies.'  
*impleret*, 'infects,' cf. ἐμπιμπλάναι. Plat. Apol. 23, E:  
 8. *occulta . . . facta*, 'were solemnized in secret.'  
*operatum iis*, 'busied with these'; 'iis' dat. cf. Hor. Od. 3, 14 6, mulier prodeat iustis operata sacris. The Gk. is πέζειν.  
*prava religione*, 'ill performed rite.'  
*conflagrasse*, neut., 'was burnt up.' Supply 'eum' out of 'ei.'
32. 1. *nominaverant*, usually 'prodere,' or 'creare,' is the word used. For the plupf. cf. note on 6, 3.  
 2. *cetera egregium*, cf. Hor. Epp. 1, 10, 50. Excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.  
*religionibus*, cf. 31, 6.  
*longe antiquissimum*. The MSS. read 'longique.' Hence Madvig conjectures 'longe longeque'; 'antiquissimum' = 'most important,' and answers to the Gk. πρῶτον.  
 3. *sustulerant*, cf. 6, 3.  
 4. *et Numae et Romuli memor*, 'with a touch of Romulus as well as Numa' (Seeley).  
*etiam . . . habiturum*, 'he also reflected that he would not easily have that peace that Numa fortunately enjoyed without having to submit to insult.' Supply 'credebat' with 'habiturum.'  
 5. *fetiales*. This addition to the duties of the fetials, who have been mentioned before under Tullus (24), was made by Ancus.  
*quo res repetuntur*, technically the proceeding was called 'clarigatio.'  
 6. *Legatus*, the pater patratus.  
*filo*, a fillet placed round the priest's cap (apex).  
*fas*, personified 'Divine Justice.'  
 7. *dedier*, old form of dedij. Infin. pass. 'Siris,' = siveris.  
 8. *concupiendique iuris-iurandi*, 'in the expression of the oath.' cf. conceptis verbis iurare, 'in set form.'  
 9. *bellum ita indicit*. This was rather a protest than an actual declaration of war; the latter follows in § 13.

10. *Iane Quirine*. Ianus was generally the god of the beginning of anything; here he is the index belli. cf. 19, 2. Lucan (1, 62), calls him 'belliger.' Macrobius says he is called Quirinus, 'quasi bellorum potens ab hasta quam Sabini curin vocant.'

*consulemus*. We must not suppose the *fetiales* used to consult the senate. That was the function of the king. They speak here in the name of their state.

11. *Quarum condixit*, 'concerning the things and the points at issue, which,' &c. The MSS. read 'causarum.' The difficulty is, governing the genitive by 'condixit,' which can hardly be supported by the doubtful passage of Cicero (Top. 4, 22), *damni infecti promisit*. Hence Madvig suggested 'causa.' If we keep the MSS. reading, we must make 'de iis' understood with 'quid censet' the antecedent to 'quarum.' 'Concerning the things, points at issue, and arguments for which the pater patratus has demanded restitution.' 'Rerum' = the actual things taken, 'litium' = the points at issue, rights infringed: 'causarum' = the legal relations arising therefrom. 'condictio,' in law, was a summons by the plaintiff to the defendant to appear in thirty days before the magistrate, to show cause why he should not give to the plaintiff what the latter demanded (*actio qua actor intendit dari sibi oportere*).

*nec solverunt nec fecerunt*, 'they have neither compensated nor performed: 'res' cannot be applied in exactly the same sense to 'dederunt' and 'fecerunt.'

*quid censet*, not governed by 'dic;' for if so, it would be 'censeas.'

12. *itaque...conscisco*, 'and to that view I join my opinion and vote.' *sanguineam*, either (1) 'blood-coloured,' (2) 'blood-stained.' Two kinds of spears are mentioned (1) the later kind, tipped with iron (*ferrata*); (2) the older kind, burnt at the end (*praeusta*). Whichever was used had to be 'sanguinea.'

*pueribus*, 'grown men.'

13. *Quod*, 'whereas.'

*fecerunt deliqueruntque*, 'have acted, and acted wrongfully.'  
*censuit, consensit, conscivit*, 'voted, decreed, and decided for it.'  
*facioque*, 'and I begin it.'

14. *dixisset*, subjunctive of repeated actions. Often used by Livy and later writers; rarely, if ever, by Cicero, Sallust, or Caesar. Roby, § 1716.

33. 2. *Aventinum*. The plebeian quarter at Rome. The idea that Ancus was the founder of the plebs (cf. Verg. *Aeneid*, 6, 816), perhaps arose from his name being connected with 'ancilla.'

3. *receptaculum*, 'refuge.'

4. *Marte incerto, varia victoria*, 'in undecided conflict, with shifting success.'

5. *ad Murciae*, sc. *sacellum*. cf. 41, 4, *Iovis Statoris*. Murcia is a surname of Venus, connected with a root meaning 'to touch,' from which comes *mulcere*, *mulcare*, and *Mulciber*, epithet of Vulcanus.

6. *ea arx*, 'such a strong position.'

*sublicio*, 'made of wooden piles' (*sublicae*).

*Tiberi*. Some editors write *Tiberim*.

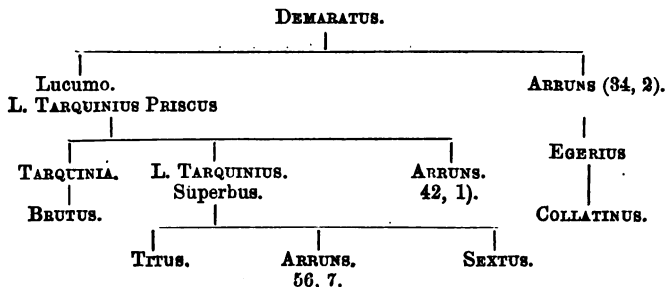
7. *Quiritium quoque*. Here 'quoque' does not, as usual, accent the word it follows.

a, on the side of.

9. *Silva Mesia*, ablative. It was the wood, west of Rome, on the right bank of the Tiber, on the possession of which depended the command of the lower part of the river to its mouth—a command so necessary for the commerce of the Romans.

34. 1. *Lucumo*, an Etruscan title of rank.

2. *Demarati*. The genealogy of the Tarquins is as follows:—



2. *seditiones*. Demaratus belonged to the family of the Bacchiadae, whose supremacy was put down by the tyrant Cypselus, 655 B.C.

4. *ducta* . . . *Tanaquil*, 'his marriage with Tanaquil.' cf. *non redditae res*, 'the fact that restitution was not made.'

6. *potissima*. The MSS. read 'potissimum.' But it is well nigh impossible to take 'visa est' = 'placuit.' With the next sentence understand some word like 'reputabat.'

et *Ancum*, 'even Ancus.'

*imagine*. Livy is speaking the language of later times. Every plebeian who attained to a curule magistracy gained 'Nobilitas' for his family, who used then to put an 'imago' (wax mask) of him in their Atrium. The greater the number of 'imagines' in any family, the greater its nobility. Of course we must not suppose the Romans of Ancus's time had images.

7. *ut cupido* = *ut qui cupidus esset*.

8. *carpento*, a covered cart. For simple ablative with 'sedeo.' cf. 41, 6. *Servius sede regia sedens*.

*demissa*, 'descending on poised wings.'

*clangore*, 'cry.'

*ministerio*, dat.

9. *eam alitem*, 'such was the bird.'

*humano*. This is a poor antithesis to 'divinitus.' It has been suggested to read 'humane,' or 'humana manu.'

12. *liberaliter dextereque*, 'with dignity and adroitness.'  
*expertus*, passive.



35. 2. *petisse ambitiose*, 'canvassed for.' The 'comitia' was the 'curiata'; so perhaps the use of 'plebs' here may be some sort of evidence towards the opinion that the *curiata comitia* consisted of both patricians and plebeians. This latter view is well supported by Seeley (*Historical Examination*, pp. 62 and 99) against Niebuhr.

3. *Quum*, supply 'diceret,' out of 'memorantem,' § 6, and compare 48, 2.

*quispiam*. The MSS. read 'quisquam,' and so does Weiss. But 'quisquam' = 'any whatever,' 'any at all.' It is used in negative sentences or after comparatives, or in relative and conditional sentences, where the barest minimum is sufficient to justify an affirmative. 'quispiam,' = 'a man,' 'one.'

5. *paenitendo*. There is a personal *poenitere* in 26, 32, 3.

*iura* . . . *ritus*, the political and religious institutions.

6. *cetera egregium*. cf. note to 32, 2.

7. *instructius*, 'in a more elaborate style.'

8. *ubi*, = *ut ibi*.

*spectacula*, 'stands.'

9. *furcis*, 'forked poles.'

*duodenos* . . . *alta* . . . *pedes*, space over which, just like time throughout which is expressed by the accusative.

*Sollemnes*, 'pretty common.' It is strictly the same as 'annui,' *quod omnibus annis praestari debet* (Festus). The games were frequently repeated, but only at special festivals.

*Romani magnique*. In Livy 'magni ludi' are applied to special games; 'Romani' and 'maximi' to the annual ones.

10. *aedificanda*, 'aedificari locum,' 'to build on a spot' is a strange construction.

36. 1. *circumdare*. You can say either 'circumdare urbem muro' (abl.), or 'morum urbi,' the latter because 'do' = to place. 4, 3.

3. *Attus Navius*. The story arose from an attempt to explain a statute believed to belong to Attus Navius that stood in the comitium near a puteal, which was a place struck by lightning, where a flint and a piece of steel were buried to symbolise the lightning.

*addixissent*, 'admittere' is also used in the same sense.

4. *eludens*, 'mocking at.' cf. 2, 45, 6.

*dum*, enclitic. With imperatives answers to Greek *δη*.

*divine*, 'soothsayer.'

6. *concilia populi* (1.) The *populus* = the patricians as distinct from the plebs, and the *comitia curiata* is referred to (Niebuhr), (2) *populus* = the plebs and the *comitia tributa* is meant, Livy forgetting that it did not exist under the kings (Weiss, Frey) (3), *populus* is quite a general term, including both the upper and lower ranks, and 'concilia populi' refers to no special assembly, but to assemblies in general. cf. 8, 1: 26, 5.

*exercitus vocati*, refers of course to the *comitia centuriata*. cf. 44, 2.

*summa rerum*. cf. 28, 22, 6, pretiosissima rerum Lucr 1, 80 *prima virorum*. Ovid Am. 1, 9, 37. *Summa ducum Atrides*.

7. *mille et octingenti equites*. If we, compare 13, 8 and 30, 3 with this passage, we can only make the number 1200. Livy transfers the number of equites under Servius (43, 8) to the time of Tarquinius.

8. *sub iisdem nominibus*. They were called priores and posteriores Ramnes, Titii, Luceres.

*quia geminatae sunt*, 'because they were really doubled.'

37. 1. *Et pleraque incendunt*, 'and most of them, being on rafts, drove against the piles, and when they stuck there, burnt the bridge.' The bridge was built by the Sabines to unite their camp with the Etruscans who were in alliance. 'Pleraque in ratibus' is a very curious expression. J. F. Gronovius suggested "ratibus impacta publicisque quum"—supposing the bridge to be made partly of boats. This is confirmed by the account in Dionysius.

2. *insignem*, 'evident.'

5. *Vulcano*, as the god of fire. The derivation of his name is uncertain.

6. *tumultuario*, 'hurriedly raised.'

38. 2. *legati oratoresque*, 'Ambassadors and spokesmen.' cf. 15, 5.  
*in sua potestate*. cf. Thuc. 3, 62, 4. καὶ ἡ ξυμπᾶσα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐσα ἐαυτῆς τοῖς ἐπραξεν.

*delubra*. The gods of a conquered city used to be invited by the Romans to emigrate to Rome. Note how power is claimed over things public (urbem . . . terminos), sacred (delubra), and private (utensilia 'moveables').

5. *maiore . . . bella*. 'Then the works of peace were begun with a spirit greater even than the vast efforts with which he had carried on his wars.' For a somewhat similar comparison of two different things, cf. 35, 7.

6. *munierat*. sc. When he had been interrupted by the war.

7. *fastigio*, 'down a slope,' very frequent in Caesar.

*ad*, cf. locus ad spectaculum datus, 2, 31, 3. The dative is more common.

39. 1. *visu*. The MSS. read 'visum,' which Madvig says cannot be for 'visum est' when joined to 'mirabile fuit.'

*arsisse*, neut. 'blazed with fire.'

2. *reges*, the royal family.

*familiarium*, 'slaves.'

*eam*, MSS. iam.

3. *viden*, for 'videsne.' cf. Satin (58, 7) for 'satisne.'

*cultu*, 'mode of life.' cf. § 4, ad magnae fortunae cultum = 'to the manner of life suited to high rank.'

*quondam*, 'hereafter.' Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 82, Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam.

4. *est*, Madvig for 'esset.' Weiss retains the latter. It is to be translated 'it turned out plainly that it was pleasing to the gods.' The text is a general statement, 'What the gods approve of comes to pass easily.'

5. *servitio*, abl. with prohibitum.

6. *in caritate atque honore fuisse*, 'to be beloved and honoured.' cf. 1, 9, 31, 1.

40. 1. *maximo honore*, abl. qual.  
 2. *non modo*, used as = 'non modo non' sometimes; but only when both clauses have the same predicate.  
*iis*. The construction is changed: 'Anci filii duo' governs no verb. *indignitas*, 'bitterness' (in consequence of unworthy treatment).  
 3. *servitia*, abstract for concrete 'slaves.'  
*centesimum*, really it was about 140 years.  
*quod*. The MSS. give 'quam'; but it is absurd to say, 'a hundred years after Romulus held the kingdom while he was on earth'; but not at all, 'that a hundred years afterwards a slave should possess the kingdom that Romulus held while he was on earth.' Besides the 'quod' is required by the 'id' following.  
*servus*. The MSS. *servius*. Perhaps rightly; the name would indicate the servile state.  
 5. *quibus* . : *ferramentis*. Attraction for 'iis ferramentis (abl.) quibus (dat.) consueti erant.' This construction with 'consueti' is not usual.  
*tumultuosissimae*, 'most noisy.' The MSS. and most editions give 'tumultuosissime.'  
 6. *vociferari, obstrepere*, hist. inf.  
 7. *Quum*. The MSS. give 'dum.' In many other places in Livy (2, 47, 5; 10, 18, 1; 21, 34, 8, &c.), 'dum' is found with the subjunctive = 'while.' In all these passages Madvig alters either the verb to the indicative, or 'dum' to 'quum.' Strangely enough, in 4, 25, 9, he leaves 'esset' after 'dum,' but perhaps the sentence is closely dependent on 'spei.' cf. Roby, § 1,666.  
*deiecit*. Madvig will have it (Em. Liv. note on 10, 8, 3), that in the case of these compounds of *iacio*, the present is *adiicit* (or *adicit*), but *adiicit* is perfect. Munro (Lucr. 2, 951 note) says the classical writers know the forms *iecit* or *iecit* for the present, but never *elicit*.
41. 1. *populi mirantium*. Madvig wishes to omit *populi*; but surely *populus* is a collective. cf. 21, 27, 9 *equorum magna pars* nantes 26, 35, 7, *ingens turba circumfusi*  
*eiicit*. The MSS. read *iecit*. It is no doubt a present here. cf. note to 40, 7.  
*subesset* . . . *destituat*. The former contingency was more unlikely than the second; hence the imperfect.  
 3. *torpent*, 'are paralyzed.'  
*qui sis*, 'qui' refers to the character, 'quis' would refer to the name.  
 4. *versas*. The MSS. *versua*.  
*ad Iovis Statoris*. sc. *templum*. 33, 5.  
 5. *sopitum*, 'stunned.'  
*cruore*, the blood streaming from the wound; 'sanguis,' the blood in the veins.  
*omnia salubria esse*, 'all the symptoms were favourable.'  
*confidere* . . . *iubere*. The subject to 'confidere' is 'se'; to 'iubere' it is 'regem.'  
 6. *trabea*, that worn by the kings was purple and white.  
*voluntate*, 'acquiescence.'

7. *iam tum, quum*. 'Quum' is only in one MS. All the MSS. except one read 'ut' before 'vivere.' The text certainly gives a very good sense, and is adopted in the last edition of Weiss.  
*exsulatum*, supine.

42. 1. *nec....opes*. 'And now Servius began to strengthen his power by domestic arrangements quite as much as by measures of state policy.'

2. *quin....faceret*, 'and prevent jealous desire for rule even in the same family causing general mistrust and enmity.'

3. *periclitaretur*, 'risked asking.'

4. *ordinumque*. Generally 'ordines' refers only to the senators and knights. Here it is used of other divisions of the citizens according to their income, rights, position, age, &c., a use frequent in treating of the census.

*aliquid interlucet*, 'any distinction is drawn.'

5. *censum*, 'valuation.'

*ex*, 'in accordance with.'

*pro habitu pecuniarum*, 'according to the amount of money possessed.' 'Habitus,' lit. = 'the having.'

*hunc*, 'the following.'

*paci decorum*, 'fit for peace.' Cf. Pref. § 13. The 'comitia centuriata' was originally planned as a military assembly; it was only by degrees that it became a political one.

3. 2. *classis*, connected with *καλέω κλήσις*. The first class was especially styled 'classis'; hence, all the editors tell us, are derived our words 'classical' and the 'classics.'

*clipeum*. The word is both neut. and masc. This shield was small, round, and of brass.

*tela in hostem*, 'offensive weapons.'

*hasta*, a long spear used for piercing. It was employed by the hinder men of the phalanx; for that was the form of the old Roman legion in battle.

3. *fabrum*. General form of genit. plu. of this word. They were smiths (ferrarii), and carpenters (tignarii).

*ferrent*. This can hardly be right; mere workers of engines would not be put in the first class. It has been proposed to read 'facerent' or 'ut machinae fierent.' (Madvig, pref. xiv.)

4. *intra*, see note to 10. 7.

*scutum*, oblong, and of wood.

5. *quingaginta millium*. The MSS. read 'in' before 'quingaginta.' Explanations have been tried by understanding another 'censum' 'omnes civis' with 'tertiae classis'; but it is best to omit the 'in' with Madvig.

6. *verutum*, a javelin for hurling.

7. *In his accensi*. The 'accensi' were either (1) a separate century of the fifth class, the supernumeraries; this seems the view of Mommsen (R.H. 1. 97); or (2) a general name for the fifth class, wrongly applied by Livy to a particular century of it (Seeley, p. 83.) It is possible, however, that this reading is not right; for Livy makes the total number of centuries of

infantry 176, while Dionysius and Cicero 175. Now, if we read, as has been proposed, 'his accensi' omitting the 'in' and translate 'added to these,' changing also 'tres' into 'duas,' we get the numbers to tally. But perhaps the necessity of reconciling them is not urgent enough to justify such violent measures.

*undecim.* Dionysius says 12,500. In either case the amount is colossal for the lowest class of citizens. Livy says (4. 45. 2.) *dena millia gravis aeris quae tum divitiae habebantur*; and so it would in an agricultural state where a ox was value 100 asses = £1 ls. Besides in such a state it is unlikely that the rating would be in money. Hence it is universally held now that the rating was in land. Mommsen considers that the ratings were converted into money when the price of land had gone up; Boeckh that the asses mentioned in the Servian census are those of the period subsequent to 241 B.C., when the as was reduced from five-sixth of a pound of copper to one-sixth. Hence to convert these sums into 'aes grave' we must divide by 5.

8. *habuit*, 'embraced.'

9. *sex...fecit.* Cf. 36. 8., he made (not 'scripsit' they were already enrolled as horse soldiers) six other centuries, though three only had been formed by Romulus. He virtually made six centuries (they were also called 'sex suffragia') by the division of each into 'prioris' and 'posteriores.'

*Ad equos emendos*, called the 'aes equestre.'

*quibus.* The antecedent is 'bina millia aeris.' This contribution was called 'aes hordearium.'

10. *primores.* Wealth and age had pre-eminence in the Servian arrangement—wealth obviously, and age, because we cannot suppose the *seniores* (from 46 to 60) were ever so numerous as the *juniores* (from 17 to 45). The whole plan was devised in order to relieve the full-citizens of the burden of alone serving in the army; service in the army now became a burden on property, of which very large amounts were possessed by aliens who had come and settled in Rome for trading purposes, and who previously had all the benefits of protection without any of the toil necessary for it.

11. *primum peditum vocabantur*, bracketed by Madvig, for he says 'primum' cannot be for 'primorum.'

*ut*, understand something like 'institutum erat.'

12. *Nec mirari...non convenire.* About 241 B.C. there was a great change made in the *comitia centuriata*. This consisted in combining it with the local division of the people into 35 tribes. Each tribe was divided according to property into five classes, each class according to age into two centuries, *seniores* and *juniores*. Thus each tribe had 10 centuries; so there were 350 centuries in all. But all the *seniores* and all the *juniores* in a tribe seem to have formed sorts of units; for we hear of a *corpus seniorum* and a *corpus juniorum*. This will help to explain 'duplicato earum...seniorumque' where *earum* must refer to the tribes. For a complete account of this change in the *comitia centuriata* see Mommsen R. H., 2. 353.

13. *tribus*, if we are to derive 'tribus' from 'tres' we must of course consider that its meaning was afterwards extended. It is simply 'division.'

*tributo.* This was not a regular tax, but one raised on emergencies, like the *εὐροπὰ* at Athens.

44. 1. *in campo Martio*. The assemblage being military was held outside the city. If the whole arrangement does not convince one that it was purely for military purposes, at any rate the fact that it did not embrace men who were past 60 will. See Mommsen, R.H., I, 100.
2. *conditum lustrum*, lustrum is connected with λουω (luo) diluo—'condere' is no doubt = conficere, 'do' being connected with the Greek *θε* root of *θεῖναι* cf. 4, 3.
- Fabius Pictor*, the earliest historian of Rome. He lived during the second Punic War. He wrote in Greek the history of Rome from the foundation to his own times.
3. *ad*, 'to accommodate,' cf. 8, 4.
- Esquiliis*, the place of those 'who lived outside' (*exquilinus*, compare *inquilinus*.)
4. *vim*, regular word for 'etymology.'
- certis circa terminis*, 'with fixed boundary-marks on both sides.' They were stones. Tac. An. 12, 24.
- inaugurato*, adv. 'after augury was taken,' 36, 3.
- ut neque . . . coniungunt*, 'that the line of buildings on the inside might not be extended to the walls; now they quite commonly even join on the buildings to them,' i.e., make the city wall one of the walls of their houses. The antecedent to 'quae' is 'aedificia.'
45. 1. *usus*, 'requirements.'
- consilio*, 'policy.'
2. *Dianae*. The statue in the temple of Diana was one of the earliest worshipped images at Rome. It was due to Greek influences; for the Romans originally had neither temples (but 'atria'), nor idols (but symbols, e.g., stone for Jove, spear for Mars). Mommsen (I, 119) seems to think it highly probable that the Ionian league was the model to Servius. In the armour too he had given to the centuries, we see a reproduction of the Greek hoplite system.
- publice privatimque*, 'both as states and individuals.'
4. *familiae*, constant genitive in Livy instead of the more usual *familias*.
6. *inceste*, 'impurely.'
- Quin . . . perfunderis*, 'go and bathe yourself' (Seeley).
- vivo*, 'running.'
46. 1. *usu*, 'by possession,' 'prescription.' The legal word is 'usucapio.'
- viritim divisio* the first agrarian law (Seeley).
- vellent iuberentne*, the regular terms of a proposed bill (*rogatio*).
2. *affectandi*, 'obtaining,' generally it = 'to aspire to.'
- adversa*, 'in opposition to.'
3. *tragici*. Translate 'Atridean.' Like the horrors in the Greek tragedies.
4. *pluribus . . . ediderim*, 'as there are the greater number of authorities for it (abl. abs.), I should be inclined to give him out as son.' The perf. subj. is used in modest assertions. Note how Livy counts his authorities without weighing them.

5. *ne*. This is not, 'It thus happened that two violent characters were not,' &c., for then we should have 'ut non;' but, 'And thus by chance there stepped in to prevent two violent characters being united in marriage, the good fortune, I feel sure it was, of the Roman people.' 'Fortuna,' Livy mentally personifies, as Seeley says.

6. *nihil materiae . . . esse*, 'that there was no stuff in her husband for ambitious desires or bold action.'

*mirari*. This and the following infinitives are historical.

7. *fratrem*. . . *virum*, 'to his brother,' 'to her sister's husband.'

*viduam*, 'unmarried,' feminine of *coelebs*.'

*et se . . . esse*. The MSS. read 'iungi ut' after 'impari,' without 'nunc,' as do most editors altering 'esse' to 'esset' with one MS. Madvig's alteration is grounded on the fact that 'iungi' would appear as 'iungimur' if the passage was in the Oratio recta; but the sense would require 'iuncti essemus,' which in Oratio obliqua would be 'iunctos esse.' Still 'cum impari' ending the clause does not sound well.

8. *implet*, 'infects,' 31, 6.

9. *Arruns*, mistake of Livy's for Lucius (Madvig). The proper names placed at the beginning of the sentence introduce new people; but then we must suppose Livy mistaken in Tullia minor, for she was the violent one (Seeley).

*continuatis*, 'immediately after one another.'

*vacuas*, of Sall. Cat. 15, 2, *creditur*, *necato filio*, *vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse*.

47. 1. *infestior*, 'open to attack,' 'insecure,' passive.  
*parricidia*, see 13, 2.

2. *non . . . serviret*, 'she had indeed a nominal husband and a companion in silent submission; she had not one,' &c.

3. *peius*, generally 'in peius,' *ignavia*, 'worthlessness.'

4. *accingeris*, 'gird yourself,' middle, cf. § 5 *deolvere*.  
*imago*. cf. 34, 6.

5. *frustraris*, 'awaken false hope in,' *facesse*, 'depart,' cf. *pro-ficisci*.

6. *nullum . . . faceret*, 'she should not turn the scale in making and unmaking kings.' Momentum = *πορὴ*, the weight that turns the scale.

7. *regis*, 'against the king,' obj. genit.

*omnibus locis*, everywhere, amongst all ranks.

8. *pro curia*, either (1) 'in the senate house,' cf. *pro rostris*, *pro tribunali*, *pro ripa Iberi stantes* (26, 41, 5) or (2) 'before,' afterwards he entered the house.

9. *fraudi esset*, 'lest it should cause injury,' predicative dative:

48. 1. *Quid hoc . . . rei est*, 'what is all this proceeding?' *lit.* 'what sort of a business is this?' For the genit. cf. Cic. Att. 7, 3, 9, *aveo scire quid hominis sit*.

2. *per licentiam eludentem*, 'playing his audacious game.' We had 'eludere,' but used transitively before (36, 4).

3. *deicit*, the MSS. read *deiecit*, cf. 40, 7.  
*facessere*, 47, 5.
6. *Dianium*, formed with the Greek termination *είων* as in *Ηρακλείων*; hence of course the penultimate is long.  
*Urbium*. This name is the same no doubt as *Virbius*, who was supposed to be Hippolytus, restored to life. (Ovid. F. 6, 756.) He is rather a genius or indiges of the woods and chase, and has connection, as his name indicates, with the *Vires*, who were wood and tree nymphs. cf. Preller, 278-9.
7. *sceleratum vicum*. This whole story of Tullia's crime is probably aitiological, to explain the origin of the name of the street.  
*quibus* = ut iis.  
*propediem*, twenty-five years is not very soon.
8. *iusta ac legitima*, 'regular and constitutional.'
9. *moderatum*, 'temperate.'
9. 1. *superbo*, 'the tyrant.'  
*socrum gener*, translate 'his own father-in-law.'
2. *armatis*, the regular proceeding of tyrants.
4. *metu*, 'terrorism.'
5. *perque eam causam*, 'under this pretence.'
7. *domesticis consiliis*, 'taking counsel only from his friends.'
- iniussu populi ac senatus*. The regular word for the consent of the senate is 'auctoritas.'
9. *ab Ulize*. Seeley considers some indigenous Italian god or hero was identified with Ulysses and some goddess with Circe. The latter was probably Marica, for she is mother of Latinus in Verg. *Æn.* 7, 47, while Circe is said to be so in Hesiod Theog. 1013. Ulysses was considered the colonizer of the west coast of Italy, as Diomedes was of the east. 'Nuptum supine. cf. Plaut. Stich. 1, 2, 79. Non tu me argento dedisti opinor Nuptum set viro.'
10. 1. *Ferentina*, a fountain goddess, identified by Preller with Venus.  
*indicit*. We should expect an accusative 'concilium,' but instead we have an object clause 'ut . . . convenient.'
2. *toto die*. Some MSS. read *tota*. Of nouns in -es only 'dies,' and 'meridies' are masculine. 'Dies' is, however, in the singular often feminine, especially when it = 'an appointed day,' and almost exclusively feminine when it = 'time,' 'period of time.' The ablative of duration is rather unusual; cf. Caes. Bell. Civ. 1, 47. *Nostri quinque horis praelium sustinuerunt.* cf. 29, 6.
3. *superbius*, 'more like a tyrant.'
5. *bene*, 'to their own advantage.'
7. *seditionus facinorosusque homo*, 'a violent demagogue.' A spokesman of the democracy is always such to Livy.  
*quum maxime dissereret*, 'just as he was setting forth.'
8. *id temporis*. This is a loose use of the accusative. The accusative is used of space traversed, but here it is used of the point reached. cf. Roby. § 1092.



9. *ne id quidem...ferunt*, 'and they say that he did not succeed in having even this uncriticized by Turnus.'  
*diuisse*. sc. Turnum: subject changed; but Turnus was the logical subject of the former sentence.  
*habiturum infortunium esse*, 'that he would suffer for it.' The 'Patria Potestas' was absolute over the son.
51. 2. *pro imperio*, he had the power of life and death over the Romans, but not over the members of the League.  
*ut*, not in MSS., supplied of necessity by all editors.  
*deversorium*, 'quarters.'  
*vim*, 'quantity of.' cf. In pompa quum magna vis auri argentique ferretur. Cic. Tusc., 5, 32, 91.  
 4. *auctor*, 'summoner.'  
 8. *enimvero*, 'then indeed.'
52. 1. *qui*, causal, with subjunctive: 'because they had.'  
*novantem res, νεωτεριζοντα*, 'planning revolution.'  
 2. *omnes*, yet in 3, 7, it is only 'aliquot.'  
*in*, to be omitted. Livy always says 'foedere teneri.'  
 5. *frequentes*, 'in great numbers.'  
 6. *secretum*, 'separate.'  
*ut ex binis...imposuit, i.e.*, he took half of a Roman and half of a Latin maniple, and made out of them one Romano-Latin maniple (ex binis singulos); and as he divided each original maniple into two halves, and put each half in a new maniple, he may be said to have made 'binos ex singulis.' The maniple was the unit; but its halves alone (centuries) had officers. 'Over the maniples thus divided he placed centurions.'
53. 1. *degeneratum*, 'the fact that he had degenerated.' The regular example of this use of the past participle is 7, 8, 5. *Diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem*.  
 2. *in ducentos*, 'that was to last for more than two hundred years.'  
 3. *dividenda*. The MSS. give *dividenda* or *dividentia*. Other editions read 'divendita.'  
*refecisset*, 'recovered,' cf. 35, 1, 12, *quod inde refectum militi divisum*.  
 5. *Sextus*. Herodotus (3, 154, sq.) tells a similar story of the capture of Babylon by the aid of Zopyrus.  
 6. *frequentiae*, 'number.'  
 8. *se inde*. Frey and Weiss (Tenb. ed.) retain this 'se.'  
 10. *si nihil morarentur*. For the expression 'nihil moror,' cf. Plaut. Most., 3, 2, 59. *Nihil moror mi istiusmodi clientes* = 'I don't care for clients of that sort.'  
*infensus*, Madvig wishes to read 'incensus'; for 'infensus' is used of continuous state, 'incensus' of momentary passion.

4. 1. *belli auctor esse*, 'advocated the war,' hist. inf.  
*nosset sciretque*. These subjunctives are virtually those of oblique narration, 'because, as he said, he knew'; 'posse' does not take an object clause after it, hence the addition of 'sciret.'  
*profecto*, 'of course.'
2. *praedatum*, supine from *praedor*.
6. *rex*. This story is copied from Herodotus (5, 92, 6), where Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, sends a similar message to Periander, tyrant of Corinth.  
*sequente*. The two chief MSS. have *sequenti*. Madvig changes it, because the rule is, as regards the ablatives of these present participles, that they end usually in *i* when employed as epithets, in *e* as substantives, and always in *e* as participles proper.
8. *tacitis ambagibus*, 'what orders he gave by these silent signs.'  
*invidia*, 'unpopularity.'
9. *iuxta atque*, 'as well as' = *aeque ac*.  
*divisui fuere*, 'were divided,' lit. 'for a division'; predicative dative.  
 cf. 33, 46, 8.
5. 2. *exaugurare*, 'to unconsecrate.'
3. *movisse numen*, 'exerted their divine power.'  
*admitterent*, cf. 35, 6; 'addicere' is also used in this sense. Tac. An. 2, 14, *addicentibus auspiciis*.
4. *non evocatum*, 'the fact that he was not summoned forth,' cf. *degeneratum* 53, 1.
5. *caput*. Hence the Hill was called Capitoline. This and the above story about Terminus (the epitome adds Juventas) are aitiological—attempts to explain both the derivation of Capitolium, and the altar of Juventas, and the symbol of Terminus found in the capitol.
7. *ad impensas*, sc. *faciendas*.  
*Pomptinae*, strangely formed adj., from *Pometia*; Campanus, from *Capua*, Sabellus from *Samnis*, are also strange forms.  
*manubiae*, the portion of spoil that went to the general. It was often spent in building a temple.
8. *crediderim*, modest assertion, 'I should be inclined to believe,' cf. 46, 4.
9. *summam*. The MSS. have 'quia' before 'summam'; but nearly all editions omit it now.  
*et nullius...exsuperaturam*, 'and there is no one even of the present-day works of splendour, that it would not more than suffice for the foundations of.' The two ideas of 'magnificentiae' and 'operum' are so closely connected that the pronoun which ought strictly to go with 'magnificentiae' is made to go with 'operum.' The conjecture of Reiz 'nullorum ne huius quidem' makes the sentence very simple; but what would have caused its alteration? Madvig (Em. Liv. ed. 2, p. 64 note) again admits 'magnificentiae,' which he had bracketed on Ussing's conjecture.
6. 1. *operis*, 'workmen.' This meaning belongs generally, but not universally, to the plural. cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 7, 118, *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*.
2. *traducebantur*, sense construction with 'plebs.'

2. *foros*. This work, as also that of making the 'cloaca' is related in the account of Tarquinius Priscus (35, 8; 28, 6). Tradition may have ascribed them to Tarquinius without distinguishing which, or they may have been begun by Priscus and finished by Superbus.

*purgamentorum*, 'sewage.'

4. *regia*. The MSS. in *regiam*. If the snake appeared outside the palace, would the passers by be likely to rush into the palace?

*anxiis* . . . *curis*, 'brooding anxiety.'

5. *ad maxime inclitum*. Though in answer to the questions when, whence, or whither, the names of towns do not take prepositions, words in apposition with those names do.

6. *sortium*. The '*sortes*' were bits of wood with inscriptions on them; they were put into some kind of a vessel, and sometimes thrown like dice. It was the only kind of oracle known in Italy; hence the word is applied to the totally different Delphic oracle. Seeley quotes Horace, A. P. 219, *Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis*.

*ignotas*. It is quite wrong to suppose there was little communication between the Romans and Greeks in early times. We have seen their influence in the Servian arming of the soldiers, and in the Latin League. Mommsen has given a good account of "The Hellenes in Italy" in his *Roman History*, 1 chap. 10.

7. *ingenii*. cf. 59, 8, *alius* is genitive. The MSS. read *ingenio*, according to which '*alius*' is nominative, and '*quam cuius simulationem induerat*' - '*quam (invenis erat), cuius*,' &c., which is very harsh. Madvig supposes the error to have arisen from the copyists not understanding a shortened form of the genit. *ingeni*.

*interfectum*. Madvig wishes to read *interfectos*; but for a somewhat similar accommodation to the nearer word. cf. Cic. Phil. 4, 4, 9. *Quis igitur illum consullem nisi latrones putant?*

8. *praedae*, predicative dative 'for a plunder.'

*Bruti*, 'the dullard.'

9. *corneo*, 'of cornel wood.'

*per ambages effigiem*, 'a symbolical representation.' (Seeley).

10. *vestrum*, 'of you,' distributively 'of your number;' *vestri* - 'of you' collectively, 'of your nature, condition.'

11. *Tarquinius, ut*, in opposition to '*Brutus*' § 12. Two of the best MSS. read, *Tarquinius Sextus*; but that is awkward, and besides might have easily been corrupted from the text.

13. *Rutulos*. Livy, in hastening on to the overthrow of the Tarquins, does not tell us the other story connected with the worship of Apollo, viz., the buying of the Sibylline books.

57. 1. *exhaustus*, 'impoverished.' cf. *homines non sumptu exauriri*. Cic. ad. Q. F. 1, 1, 2 fin.

3. *munitionibus*, 'siege works.'

4. *satis liberi commentus erant*, 'furloughs were pretty freely granted.'

7. *id cuique . . . oculis*, 'let the chief point observed in the case of each wife be what meets the eye at the unexpected arrival of her husband.'

8. *se intendentibus*, 'stretching themselves across the sky.'  
 9. *in convivio luxurque*, 'in sumptuous banquets,' hendiadys.  
 10. *spectata*, 'tried.'  
 11. *ab nocturno iuvenali ludo*, 'after the amusement of the night.'
8. 2. *satis tuta circa*, sc. omnia, out of 'sopiti omnes.'  
*sopiti*, 'fast asleep.'  
 3. *pavida ex somno*, 'starting in alarm out of her sleep.'  
*versare* . . . *animum*, 'tries to influence in every direction her woman's mind.' cf. 21, 30, 1, Hannibal varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque.  
 4. *dedecus*, 'the fear of shame.'  
*cum mortua* . . . *ait*, 'He says he will cut his slave's throat and lay him naked beside her dead body.'  
 5. *vel vi victrix*, 'even by mere force the conqueror,' i.e., without the addition of the threats of death and disgrace, by mere physical force it would have been victor. This seems to be Madvig's explanation, put forth with great confidence (Em. Liv. 66, Ed. 2). The MSS. read *velut*, which Weiss explains, 'thinking it was victor,' while in the end it brought ruin on Sextus. Seeley proposes 'violatrix.'  
*ferox*, 'elated.'  
*maesta*, 'crushed.' In § 6 translate 'maestam,' 'in dreary sorrow.'
7. *suorum*, Lucretia is the virtual subject to the sentence.  
*Satin salve*: supply 'agis,' cf. 3, 26, 9. 'satin = satisne, cf. viden 39, 3.  
*vestigiv*, cf. Aesch. Ag. 411, στίβοι φιλάνορες, Prop. 2, 29, 35. Apparent non ulla toro vestigia presso.  
*dexterarum fidemque*, 'your hands and word.'
9. *aegram animi*, really locative, cf. 7, 6. "In prose writers of Cicero's and Livy's time it is only with words expressing doubt or trouble that this genitive is used." (Madvig, Em. Liv. 163, Ed. 2.)  
 12. *prolapsaque* . . . *paterque*, 'and sinking forward on the wound, she fell dead. Her husband and father call wildly on her.' Refers to the calling on a person immediately after death (conclamatio). It was originally a means of ascertaining whether the person was really dead. For 'prolapsa in vulnus,' cf. Lucretius 4, 1049, Namque omnes plerumque cadunt in vulnus.
19. 1. *denique*. The MSS. dehinc, which word occurs nowhere else in Livy.  
*exacturum*. The MSS. executurum; but this word takes an accusative of the offence but not of the person, when it means 'to punish.'  
 2. *Bruti*, 'of the dull one.'  
 3. *miraculo* . . . *indignitate*, 'naturally enough at the strange and shocking nature of the extraordinary occurrence.'  
 4. *auctorque* . . . *capiendi*, 'who bade them take.'

5. *parte*. The best MSS. read *pari*, which is translated 'adequate,' or 'equal to that which marched forth.' Madvig supposes '*pari*' to have arisen from the old abl. '*parti*.'

*custodibusque*. These were placed no doubt round about the town on the outside to prevent any secret message being sent to the Tarquins.

6. *rursus*, 'on the other hand,' cf. Hor. Epp. 1, 2, 17. *Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit*.

*haud temere esse*, 'no casual matter,' cf. Verg. *Æn.* 9, 375. *Haud temere est visum*; also the phrases *bene, recte, ita esse*.

7. *ad tribunum celerum*. The mere tribune had not this power; not even the deputy of the king (*praefectus urbis*) could summon the curies. Mommsen (R.H. 1. p. 256 note) says the '*tribunus celerum*' is confounded with the '*magister equitum*,' and the right of convoking the centuries by virtue of his praetorian rank is extended to the assembly of the curies. That Brutus should have been made '*tribunus celerum*' is not strange; it may have been a contemptuous piece of '*superbia*' on the part of Tarquin towards the people.

8. *cui . . . esset*, 'to whom more than his daughter's death, the cause of that death was a disgrace and calamity.'

9. *exhauriendas*, 'digging out.'

11. *quae praesens . . . subiicit*, 'which indignation at the events suggests at the time, and chroniclers do not find it easy to relate.'

12. *Ardeam in castra*, we should say 'to the camp at Ardea,' cf. 23, 24, 5. *Teaunum in hiberna ad exercitum rediit*, and 60, 2. *Caere in Etruscos*.

*praefecto urbis*, sometimes '*praefectus urbi*.' He was the deputy of the king during the absence of the latter.

60. 3. *regnatum*, 'kings reigned at Rome.'

4. *consules*. In the earliest times of the republic, these officers were called '*praetores*' (3, 55, 12).

*praefecto urbis*. He would not have had such power under the monarchs; but now they were banished, in this time of revolution, the '*praefectus urbis*' was the chief executive magistrate.

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